THE HOMILIES OF MOŠE BAR KEPHA

ON THE EARLY CHAPTERS OF THE GOSPELS

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This thesis is a study and partial edition of a Syriac text known as the Book of Homilies attributed to the Jacobite (i.e. Syrian Orthodox) bishop of Mosul Moše bar Kepha ("MbK"; †903).

The Book of Homilies is a collection of approximately thirty-eight treatises for the festivals of the liturgical year. The present edition consists of twelve of these at the beginning of the collection which group themselves around the Christmas festival and the infancy stories of the Gospels. Ten of these are edited for the first time. A facing English translation is also given.

The introduction to the edition discusses the collection as a whole: its authenticity (ch. 2), the author's sources (ch. 3), and its text (ch. 4).

1. The authenticity of the collection requires proof in the face of several objections, most seriously the disparity in form among the homilies and the differing contents of the MSS. My conclusion is that MbK is substantially the author of the collection but that it was probably assembled from his writings and lectures by one or more editors. One of the edited homilies stands apart as not deriving from MbK, and this is relegated to an appendix.

2. The sources used by MbK are discussed with the aim of under-

standing his place in the history of Syriac biblical exegesis. The Homilies are of particular value since they virtually replace some parts of MbK's commentaries which have not survived intact. The results of the discussion are the following: (a) Dionysius bar Ṣalibi has copied MbK on the Gospels, as elsewhere, quite slavishly; (b) MbK is a typical encyclopedic commentator drawing on a variety of Greek and Syriac sources; (c) MbK was not the first such compiler of exegesis but depended on at least one earlier source in common with the commentary ofGeorge of Be'eltan; (d) MbK probably used a Nestorian exegetical work among his sources.

3. The edition uses seven MSS, including all those in the West. The resulting text is probably the best ever likely to be obtained, although one or two inaccessible MSS might just possibly upset this conclusion. The filiation of the MSS seems to change within the edited homilies, but can be described by a set of five stemmata. Decisions on some readings have still had to be made on internal grounds.

The commentary following the text and translation is designed mainly to support ch. 3 of the introduction by citing sources and parallels for individual passages.

J.F. Coakley
September, 1977

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Preface

The present thesis offers a partial edition of the Book of Homilies of Moše bar Kepha. The homilies edited are roughly those which offer exegesis of the birth and infancy stories in the Gospels or concern the Christmas festival generally. The Introduction also discusses some of the problems surrounding this collection as a whole. A summary of previous work on the text can be found on pp. 4-6 of the Introduction. For the two homilies edited here which have already been printed, I have made my own collations of the MSS and translations.

What now seems to me a very early draft of this thesis was submitted in various research-fellowship competitions in 1975. To anyone who read the thesis in that form, I should say first of all that since then I have added two homilies to the edition. No. 5 is a Christmas sermon which goes outside my original interest in the collection as biblical exegesis, but it finally seemed unnatural to exclude it alone among the texts for the Christmas season. No. 2*, a very long and complicated homily on Lk 1.26-38, had also to be included once I realized the value of its one witness, a modern MS in the Harvard College Library. Chapters 3 and 4 of the Introduction have been the most heavily revised, ch. 3 to take better account of the Nestorian parallels to the homilies, and ch. 4 to offer a fuller inventory and a more precise evaluation of the MS evidence.

I am pleased to thank Mr. Simon Hopkins for various kindnesses

including help in reading some necessary Arabic, Msgr. J.-M. Sauget for furnishing me with a microfilm of some folios of MS Vat.Syr. 154, and Prof. A. Vööbus for providing me with a copy of a MS of the homilies in Mardin and with a typescript of his own article on the homilies a year before its publication. Without the constant help and encouragement of my wife Sarah this thesis would not even now be ready to submit. Finally I am glad of the chance to acknowledge my thanks and great debt to my supervisor and friend Dr. S. P. Brock for large grants from his rich fund of erudition and patience.

J. F. Coakley

September, 1977

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration.

James Farrell Coakley
4 October 1977

Abbreviations

B.O.	ASSEMANI, Bibliotheca Orientalis
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Louvain, 1903-)
DbṢ	Dionysius bar Ṣalibi
GanB	Gannat Bussame (see p. 45)
GB	?George of Be'eltan (see p. 25)
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller (Berlin, 1897-)
IM	Isho'dad of Merv
JacE	Jacob of Edessa
JS	Jacob of Serug
MbK	Moše bar Kepha
PG	Patrologia Graeca (Paris, 1857-66)
PO	Patrologia Orientalis (Paris, 1903-)
PS	Patrologia Syriaca (Paris, 1894-1926)
Ps-Dion	Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tellmaḥre (or, of Zuqnin)
SC	Sources chrétiennes (Paris, 1941-)
TbK	Theodore bar Koni
Thes.	Thesaurus Syriacus, ed. R. Payne Smith (Oxford, 1868-1901)

Abbreviations of other serial titles follow the "Verzeichnis der Abkürzungen" in Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 3rd edn., i.XVIIff.

For citations of Ephrem and JS, see the Index to Works Cited, pp.378-9.

In citations of Syriac texts which refer also to the translation, the page number of the translation appears in square brackets after that of the text.

An author's or editor's name in capital letters refers to the Index to Works Cited on pp. 378ff.

MbK's homilies are cited by the number of the homily (see p. 67) followed by either the page and line number in this edition (e.g. 7.1:3), or the number of the "chapter" or "explanation" in the homily (e.g. 7§i).

Introduction

1. Introductory

Biblical exegesis was always one of the most lively concerns of Syriac writers, and most of the great literary figures of both East and West Syriac Christianity have some commentary or other exegetical work associated with their names. These works are the products of great ingenuity in early centuries, and at least of wide reading later on, and provide information on the history of apocryphal traditions, textual criticism, and the intellectual history of the Syriac church in general.

The history of biblical exegesis in Syriac has nonetheless still to be written. This lack is due partly to the large amount of literature which, in theory, would have to be examined for it, commentaries on the Bible being by nature lengthy works. The close literary relations among commentators, too, mean that much of this examination would be taken up with the tedious repetitions of the same arguments which turn up in one commentary after another.

What principally holds back the work, however, is the precarious condition of the texts of all but the latest exegetical writers. Among the Jacobites, the great commentaries of Dionysius bar Ṣalibi (†1171; hereafter, DbṢ) and Bar Hebraeus (†1286) stand

as encyclopedias of the results of earlier, often very ancient, writers' works, but it is not always easy to recover how these were mediated to them: this is owing partly to their failure to acknowledge their sources except in the most general way, but mostly to the disappearance of this earlier exegetical literature in MS. To be sure, the length of the biblical commentaries concerned has brought about this state of affairs, scribes being disinclined to copy an earlier commentary when a later one had subsumed and superseded it as a work of reference. But exegetical works older than DbṢ have not completely vanished, and work on them does indeed succeed in identifying some of his sources and pushing back the dates of many of the exegetical traditions he reproduces.

Two programmatic articles appeared at the beginning of the century concerned with this subject. A. BAUMSTARK's "Die Evangelienexegese der syrischen Monophysiten" (1902) was concerned with the Gospels, where the work of commentators was of course most concentrated. BAUMSTARK called for work to start on the recovery of the earliest Jacobite material, the vi-century commentary of Philoxenus of Mabbug.

J. Rendel HARRIS, in the introduction to M.D. Gibson's edition of Isho'dad of Merv's commentaries on the Gospels (1911),[1] suggested starting from the other end, from the later writers Isho'dad of Merv (fl. 852) the Nestorian and Moše bar Kepha (†903) the Jacobite (hereafter, MbK).[2] HARRIS was most interested at the time in recovering in Syriac one of the most ancient sources of Syriac

exegesis, Ephrem's commentary on the Diatessaron, and he expressed the hope that in this project DbṢ could be dispensed with in favour of his earlier sources.

BAUMSTARK's programme for Philoxenus has been largely worked out, but with results perhaps disappointing for the history of Syriac exegesis as a whole.[3] HARRIS's programme, however, is still prospective, because the commentaries of MbK - at any rate those on the Gospels, where comparative material is richest - exist in a fragmentary, or at least inaccessible, state.[4] However, there is good reason to suppose that a considerable amount of MbK's exegesis is preserved in another collection of writings attributed to him, the Book of Homilies (ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܐܡܪܐ), for which MSS are both more numerous and more accessible. In what follows I present an edition of twelve of the homilies at the beginning of this collection of thirty-six (less in any one MS) with the particular aim of locating MbK's exegetical work in its proper place in the history of exegetical literature in Syriac.

It is true that eventually we may hope to have MbK's commentaries on Mt and Lk themselves and so not need to use the homilies for this purpose. VÖÖBUS has announced the discovery of a complete copy of the commentary on Lk[5] and of probably nearly half of that on Mt.[6] The end of the commentary on Mt is known in Arabic but has not been edited;[7] in the West a very fragmentary Syriac MS of this commentary is in MS Brit.Mus.Add. 17274, also unedited.[8] No doubt these works must increase and the homilies must

decrease. But until the commentaries are completely recovered and published, the homilies deserve study on account of their exegesis. Even then, since VÖÖBUS has already noticed some textual variation in the two Syriac MSS of the commentary on Mt,[9] the homilies may at least help to settle textual problems as well as to fill the inevitable lacunae.[10]

Although this introduction and the notes are primarily taken up with the exegetical interest of the homilies, it will appear that these works have a claim to study from other points of view as well. Other concerns have in fact lain behind the very slight attention that the Book of Homilies has received from scholars.[11] The following is a list of their appearances and citations in print:

1. E.M. QUATREMÈRE read one MS[12] of the collection for the Thesaurus Syriacus, in which quotations of a few words in length appear frequently as illustrations.

2. Homily no. 4 of the collection was printed from the same MS and translated into English by F.E. NURSE in the AJSL for 1909-10. The translation is unfortunately poorly served by an obtuse introduction.

3. BAUMSTARK attempted to use the homilies in his study of the Jacobite liturgical calendar,[13] on the basis of catalogue descriptions of the MSS. As he realized, however, the collection has to be used with great care and cannot, like a lectionary, be made the basis of any firm conclusions about the practice of any certain church at a particular time.

4. Homilies nos. 28 and 36 (not part of the present edition)

were studied by NAU, in the ROC for 1914.[14] No. 28 appears in translation, and of no. 36 extracts are printed in Syriac. NAU's interest is in the history of the two festivals in question.

5. Nos. 1 and 2 appear in two articles in the ROC for 1920-3 by H. BÉGUIN: no. 1 in extracts and no. 2 entire, from the same MS used by NURSE. It appears from the titles of these articles that BÉGUIN intended to continue the series. His French translations are perhaps more polished than MbK's own prose, and they occasionally gloss over difficulties. Again, nothing is done to put the homilies in any literary context. (A number of errors in transcription and printing appear in both BÉGUIN and NURSE, and a few more arise from faults in the text of their MS (= my MS P).)

6. VÖÖBUS has maintained on the basis of the homilies that MbK knew a non-Peshitta Gospel text close to Syr Sin. and Cur., which shows up in his short quotations but not his long quotations, and which does not appear at all in his commentaries.[15] This had also been suspected by BRAUN (p. 24) and, at one remove, by GRAF on the basis of the Arabic translation of the commentary on Mt.[16] It might be well to qualify this by noting MbK's great dependence on sources: his Gospel quotations might come from older commentaries and not from a NT text known by itself in the ix century.

7. GRAF (Geschichte, ii.231) gives notices of Arabic translations of nos. ?25 and ?5 in al-Maǧalla al-baṭriyarkīya as-suryānīya 1 (1933) 248-252 & 282-286, 3(1935) 257-266, resp.[17]

8. VÖÖBUS has devoted a recent article to the MSS of the

collection and has included some remarks on the literary genres represented in it.[18]

Notes to 1.

1. pp. xi-xxxii, esp. xxx f.

2. I forego rehearsing the biography of MbK, although an excerpt appears on p. 9. Descriptions of MbK's life can be found in BRAUN, 3-9 (best), BAUMSTARK, Geschichte, 281, DUVAL, 391, and CHABOT, Littérature syriaque, 95. The best description and catalogue of his works is now VÖÖBUS, Kanonessammlungen, 227-234.

3. By DE HALLEUX; see below, pp. 50-1.

4. With the exception of his massive commentary on Jn in Cambridge MS Add. 1971.

5. "Entdeckung": in MS Mardin Orth. 102. The "extract" he mentions in MS Damascus Patr. 4/11 must be no. 3 of the present homilies: see on this MS below p. 64.

6. On Mt 13.57-26.10, in MS Mardin Orth. 101: see "Découverte". Again the three extracts in MS Damascus Patr. 4/11 must be among our homilies.

7. On Mt 24.42-28.20, in MS Vat.Ar. 453, described by GRAF, "Matthäus-Kommentar".

8. Some extracts are printed by HARRIS, Fragments of Ephrem. See further on this MS below, p. 39 and the commentary on 2.1:4f., 6.9:10ff., etc.

9. "Découverte", 361f.

10. Lacunae are implied by VÖÖBUS in "Liturgiegeschichtliches Schrifttum", 71.

11. The exception to this is HARRIS's passing reference in his introduction, p. xxxi. Cf. below, p. 53 and n.52.

12. MS Par.syr. 206 = MS P in this edition.

13. Festbrevier und Kirchenjahr, 165, 170, 192 n.6, 220-4.

14. NAU, "Confesseurs du Vendredi", "Fête de la Croix".

15. History of the Gospel Text, 109.

16. GRAF, "Matthäus-Kommentar", 286.

17. I am told that this series of translations was the work of the Patriarch Aphram Barsum and continued in this magazine until 1956. I have however not had an opportunity to see these articles or even to verify this information.

18. "Liturgiegeschichtliches Schrifttum", discussed further in chs. 2 and 4 below.

2. Authenticity and Form

The first problem presented by the Book of Homilies is whether it is the authentic work of Moše bar Kepha. CHABOT alone has seen fit to express any doubt:

> Un receuil d'homélies pour les principales fêtes de l'année lui est attribué dans certains manuscrits. On peut douter de l'exactitude de cette attribution.[1]

His scepticism is well taken, and might rest on some or all of the following:

1. The principal source for the biography of MbK is the anonymous summary found in a number of MSS[2] and printed by ASSEMANI, B.O. ii.218f. The list of works which appears in it does not include any homilies:[3]

> And he commented on (ܦܫܩ) all the books of the church, and lived about ninety years...And what was the reason for his commentaries? And we say, Ignatius of Qaronta and Kyriakos his teacher (ܡܪܝ) and Ḥabib his teacher requested of him the commentary on the Psalms, and Paul. And he commented on the Gospel and the Pentateuch, and the Book of Sessions, and the Book of the Prophets, and Acts, and the Apostle, and two volumes (ܡܫܚܠܦܢܐ ܕܠܘܓܝܣܛܐ) of the Theologian. And he made a book of disputations against heresies, and an ecclesiastical history.

2. Of the MSS of the collection, the earliest two go back no further than the xiii century. In addition, no MS has been recovered from the Dayr es-Suryani although other works of MbK were known there.

3. A second collection of discourses on the festivals of the church in MbK's name, called The Book of Explanations of the Festivals (ܟܬܒ ܦܫܪܢܐ ܕܥܝܕܐ , fol.1a), is preserved in a single MS, Brit.Mus.

Add. 17188 (WRIGHT, Catalogue, ii.619-22). This is a vellum MS of about the xi century, i.e. earlier than any of the MSS of the Book of Homilies, and comes from the Dayr es-Suryani. The contents of this MS have only occasional contacts with the Homilies.

4. The collection also raises doubts of itself, on account of the diversity of its component homilies.[4]

a. In form, one of the twelve here edited (no. 5) corresponds roughly to a typical Greek festal homily, three (nos. 1,2*,3) resemble biblical homilies or commentaries proceeding verse by verse, others address exegetical problems one by one (nos. 2^{pt}, 4, 7, 8, 9, 14), and still others treat lists of more general problems (nos. 2^{pt}, 6, 13).[5]

b. The homilies appear with various labels, including "explanations" (nos. 2,4,7,8,9), "chapters" (nos. 6,13), "discourse" (no. 1 in one MS, as well as nos. 10,18,25, etc.), "commentary" (no. 3), "homily" (nos. 5 and perhaps 1), and "explanation" (no. 14).[6] It is not always easy to see a rule for distinguishing these labels by the form of what follows.[7]

c. There are very great differences in length, e.g. between nos. 2* and 3 which are otherwise similar in form.

These considerations are, however, not so clear as they first appear. Another set of arguments may be set more or less against them and in favour of the authorship of MbK himself.

1. The anonymous biography passes over other works attributed to MbK besides the homilies, including all his theological works: on Paradise, on the creation of angels, on the heavenly hierarchy, on

free will, on the soul, on the resurrection of the body. These books are very widely attested in MSS[8] and are not subject to doubts on internal grounds. It has further to be remembered that the biography is primarily transmitted in the MSS of the collection and may even have been produced for it.[9]

2. As the discussion of chapter 4 will show, the two MSS from the xiii century already exhibit considerable divergences, as well as corruptions, in their texts, and cannot stand too near to the archetype. At least one of them also originates from MbK's own cathedral church in Mosul where it might be supposed that his works were kept and used.[10]

3. As suspect as the outward form of the homilies may be, the style and contents of each usually fit in well with what we expect from MbK. This can first of all be said of their style when it takes the form of short discussions, beginning after a title or problem with "And we say" (ܘܐܡܪܝܢ) and listing others' opinions with "some say... others say..." (ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ... ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ (ܐܚܪܢ)(ܐܚܪܢ)). This format can be found, for example, throughout MbK's treatise on the consecration of the chrism.[11] The style of running commentary also is exemplified in MbK's undoubted works, e.g. in his commentary on the liturgy[12] and throughout most of the commentary on Jn. The (common enough) rhetorical style of no. 5 seems to be the only sort not to be found elsewhere.

As regards their contents, the number and kind of parallels given in the commentary, taken as a whole, seem to support a ninth-century date - and, of course, West Syrian provenance - for most of

the exegesis whose ancestry it is possible to trace. For what they are worth, the statements at 2.2:13 and 2.4:4 that the world is just under 7000 years old and that Christ appeared in the year 6000, also point to a date before AD 1000.[13]

4. In the places where it is possible to compare the contents of the homilies with MbK's commentaries on the Gospels, the result is to support their common authorship. This sort of comparison can be made in various ways.

a. There can be no doubt that DbṢ's main source in his commentaries was MbK's own commentaries, and the reader of DbṢ is very often reading the words of MbK.[14] Since the correspondences between the two authors are not generally given in my commentary, it may be useful to give a concordance for a sample of MbK's text (homily no. 2) to show that the homilies stand in the relation to DbṢ expected from works of MbK.

MbK	DbṢ (on Lk 1.26; CSCO 113)	
2§i	236:7-237:9	
§ii	237:11-16	(3 of MbK's 5 reasons)
§iii	237:17-19	(3 of MbK's 5 reasons)
§iv	237:19-25	
§v	238:30-240:2	

b. At one point there is the opportunity to compare the two works directly, viz. homily no. 25 on the raising of Lazarus with the commentary on Jn 11.1-46 (fols. 191a-206b). Both are more than usually tedious and it does not seem necessary to set out their contents here. But even without a detailed comparison, the conclusion that they have the same author is hard to resist: both have the same "prologue"

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(somewhat longer in the commentary), and each gives two different (but largely overlapping: from two different sources?) lists of reasons why Jesus wept (Jn 11.35). The lists in the commentary are slightly longer but as far as they correspond to the homily the agreement is nearly word for word.

c. Substantial parts of the introduction to MbK's commentary on Mt (in MS Add. 17274) are preserved, and again it appears that the same hand was responsible for these as for the homilies. In particular this introduction seems to stand in the same relation to George of Be'eltan's work as that in which homilies 7,8, and 9 stand.[15]

d. No significant differences of opinion emerge between the homilies and commentaries. The use made of a quotation of Gregory Nazianzen is once opposite in the two works (cf. the commentary on 6.11:10) but this is no more than a careless use of sources. DbṢ attributes to MbK the opinion that baptism is of five kinds, whereas homily no. 11 lists seven, but as with Jn 11.35 MbK's lists may not always be the same length in the two sources.

5. The evidence presented by the second collection of treatises on the festivals by MbK is not so easy to interpret. (A thorough study of this collection would go outside the limits of this thesis and would have to face, among other problems, the difficulty of reading a number of badly stained folios in the MS.) There are two main points at issue. First, is it the work of MbK? The age and quality of the MS and its unambiguous ascription to MbK certainly weigh in favour of authenticity. For the internal evidence, see the parallels

with the Homilies noted in the commentary on 6§§i-vi,xiii, and 8§§i-ii. The disagreements between two works are perhaps more striking than their agreements, especially when compared with MbK's known way of copying from his own works where possible.[16] On the other hand, two different sets of sources may have dominated MbK's discussions in the two different works. As the passages in no. 6 show, it is the Homilies and not the Explanations that DbṢ follows; if only one work could be genuine it must be the Homilies.

The second point is whether it is after all reasonable to ascribe two different collections of discourses on the liturgical year to MbK. A clue to the answer comes from their titles in the MSS: Homilies (tûrgamê), and Explanations (ʿellathâ). VÖÖBUS (following BAUMSTARK[17]) has suggested that MbK's tûrgamê were written in imitation of an older (vi cent.) Nestorian literary form, which may have been developed in the School of Nisibis:

> Ihre Einführung in den westsyrischen Bereich muss wohl Interesse erregt haben. Ein Zeichen dafür dürfte in der Tatsache gesehen werden, dass die tūrgāmē in voneinander abweichenden Sammlungen erscheinen.[18]

Evidence for this imitation is taken from the work called by BAUMSTARK De causis festorum (ܟܬܒ ܥܠܠܐ) containing a collection of thirteen discourses on the liturgical festivals by different authors, of whom the earliest is Thomas of Edessa, a pupil of the Katholikos Mar Abba I.[19]

It is easy enough to guess, and a closer acquaintance with MbK's two collections confirms, that VÖÖBUS's statement is not quite accurate. The imitation of the Nestorian form is to be found in MbK's Explanations and distantly, or not at all, in his Homilies.

There cannot be any doubt about the imitative nature of the Explanations. A comparison of the MS with any of the edited parts of the Nestorian Explanations turns up the same scheme and style: a general prologue discussing the author's incapacity and the persistence of those who asked him to write the work, followed by a series of chapters for each festival, of which the first is an index of the ones to come and the last is an "admonition". MbK's work includes exactly the same kind of prologue: the slavishness of his dependence on the model is shown both by his outright copying of Thomas's expressions, and by the fact that he tells his readers at some length how useful it is to have the index chapter at the beginning of each section on a festival (fols. 2b-3a), and then does not bother to include it! Within the explanations it appears that many of the same questions are discussed as in the Nestorian work, but with the appropriate theological changes made. The style is the same throughout: not, as in the homilies, with uniform introductory schemata for each chapter and a discussion beginning "We say...", but in the form of a connected discussion. E.g. (fol. 15a):

> Chapter 7. Because, then, it has been shown plainly that it was perforce that God the Word should come for our salvation (himself) and not one of his servants, let us pass on to those who do not believe the mystery of faith and say, "If God the Word took flesh and was born, he was reduced from what he was, and through the conception and nativity his divinity was defiled." ...

A lexical point can also be added to the obvious differences in form between the two works. In the title and body of both sets of Explanations, the word ܡܫܠܐ refers to the whole discussion of one

festival. About this sense, MACOMBER concludes:[20]

> An "explanation" seems to represent a literary genre peculiar to the Nestorian theological schools of the 6th to the 8th centuries. It was a lengthy theological discourse that explained both the reasons for some liturgical or other celebration and different aspects of the theological mystery that lay behind it.

In the Homilies, there is no trace of this technical use of ܡܫܠܐ: in the few cases where it appears in some MSS in the title of a homily in the sg. (e.g. at 2.1 n.2) the form with seyame is obviously original. In the homilies, ܡܫܠܐ merely denotes, like ܡܡܠܠܐ, a discussion of one single question within a homily.[21]

There is therefore no reason to confuse these two collections or to suppose that they form two different recensions of the same work.[22] On the other hand, we are not prevented from holding that MbK was the author of both. They represent two quite different kinds of literary production, and MbK may well have been responsible for both.

The last statement may seem to have glossed over the most serious of the difficulties in the way of the authenticity of the Book of Homilies, the problem of accounting for the diversity of its component "homilies". It would be making a virtue of necessity to meet this difficulty by saying that the versatile MbK intentionally included in his collection a variety of his pieces belonging to different literary genres.[23] A more natural inference is that the collection is in substance the work of MbK but owes its shape to one or more editors. This conclusion seems likely even at first sight from the air of disorder in the variety of labels, forms, and lengths among the homilies. This disorder suggests an editor assembling available materials

whatever their form,[24] rather than an author's own hand - especially the hand of MbK, whose other works are generally marked by a rigidly systematic method of presentation. This view gains support from two further characteristics of the collection.

1. The lemmas to the homilies always and in all MSS speak of MbK in a secondary way, reminding the reader repeatedly of his name and see. These lemmas at least must all be the work of an editor. But since they pervade the earliest accessible form of the collection, it is a short step to supposing that this editor was responsible for its initial assembling.

2. Some evidence from the textual history of the collection is also significant, and may even point to the work of more than one editor. Table III on p. 67 shows that scribes at any rate did not always consider the collection to be of fixed content, as an author's own product might have been regarded, but freely added and omitted whole homilies. A particularly clear example of evidence for this comes from the textual tradition presupposed by one of the MSS which contained none of the homilies called "explanations" (nos. 2,4,7,8,9)[25]. It therefore seems most likely that this form of homily was the contribution of a particular editor, rather than a genre to be distinguished in structure from, say, "chapters".

What the materials were which the compilers of the collection used, is not clear. It is natural to think that much came from MbK's commentaries and perhaps something from his dogmatic works, but this will not account for everything. I am inclined to think that notes from authentic sermons and lectures of MbK were collected by disciples

and supplemented from MbK's writings to form the Book of Homilies. This solution has the advantage of meeting all the objections at the beginning of the chapter to the authenticity of the collection, while allowing MbK to be called its author as the evidence of style and content requires. It also takes quick account of some of the perplexing features of the text, such as the free use of "etc." (וכו׳) in places where the reader has no idea how to fill up the text (e.g. at 5.1:19 and 6.7:9) but where a note-taker might simply have passed over a passage. The small discrepancies between homilies and commentary can be attributed either to an editor's work or to different statements by MbK on different occasions. The rather clumsy tacking-on of rhetorical conclusions to otherwise exegetical texts (e.g. nos. 1 and 4) also looks like the work of an editor adapting them for more strictly homiletic use.

It is accordingly difficult to know which homilies to include and which to exclude when speaking of, and editing, the Book of Homilies. The possibility of reconstructing the contents of an autograph of MbK is almost, if not entirely, excluded by the considerations above. The MS evidence does not at present allow even the work of the earliest editor to be clearly distinguished; even if it did, the question would arise whether to exclude homilies deriving authentically from MbK but added by some editor other than the first one, (e.g. perhaps nos. 7,8,9). The most logical course is not to insist on defining the collection exactly, but to evaluate the provenance and authenticity of each homily as fully as the combination of textual

and internal evidence permits. The evidence so far points to the substantial authorship of MbK for ten of the twelve edited homilies; no. 2* is problematic (see the commentary); no. 14 is rejected (see the Appendix).

Notes to 2.

1. Littérature syriaque, 96. VÖÖBUS too quickly dismisses this judgment ("Liturgiegeschichtliches Schrifttum", 70).

2. See note j on p. 66 below.

3. The same goes for a slightly longer list of MbK's works found in MS Brit.Mus.Or. 1017 (fol. 205b), dated 1364. A note in the margin of MbK's biographical notice in the Chron. ad ann. 1234 (ii.275) adds: "He also wrote...another book known as (the Book) of Explanations (ספר הפתרונים...ספר המפתח). This could refer to the homilies or to the other collection discussed on pp. 13-16 , but in any case the notice is no earlier than the MSS themselves.

4. I retain the designation "homily" throughout for the component parts of this collection, in spite of this difference in form. I do so partly in order simply to have some one name for them all without prejudice to the question of their original use, but a second reason has to be that the collection is entitled Book of Homilies (ספר מימרא) and the giver of this title must have thought it appropriate. MbK's most usual format of chapters or explanations conforms ill to the usual form of a tûrgamâ, which began as a Syriac version of the usual Greek homily (so GRÉGOIRE, who does not include MbK's work in his art., "Homéliaires syriaques"). SAUGET (p.346), however, remarks:

> Avant même de parler de tradition homilétique syriaque, il faudrait arriver à faire une discrimination entre ce qui pourrait être l'expression d'un usage officiel, et ce qui ne serait que le resultat d'initiatives de compilateurs privés temoignant au plus d'une pratique locale.

Perhaps in certain localities the definition of tûrgamâ could have been stretched to cover all the kinds of writings in this collection.

5. As an example of one scholar's perplexity in trying to classify them as to form, it is interesting to look at Renan's notes (assembled in MS Par.syr. 282; ZOTENBERG, vf., 215) on MSS P and R. He calls P:

> Un recueil des ~~homélies~~ scholies de Moise Bar Cepha...ces ~~homélies~~ scholies roulent en grande partie sur les Evangiles de chaque fête... Il y a aussi des questions sur les diverses cérémonies écclesiastiques et sur différents points de theologie.

Of MS R he says:

> C'est une serie de ~~9 homélies~~ 10 traités...

6. Resp.: ܡܫܠܝ, ܡܡܠܐ, ܡܣܡܟ, ܡܥܪܒ, ܡܩܒܠ, ܡܫܠ.

7. VÖÖBUS claims, for example ("Liturgiegeschichtliches Schrifttum", 70), that the divisions of the longer homilies are called "chapters" and of the shorter ones "explanations". But the distinction is neither sharp - no. 7 has twelve "explanations" and no. 13 has fourteen "chapters" - nor thoroughgoing: in no. 25 the lemma calls the sections "chapters" but they are individually introduced as "explanations", while in no. 12 exactly the opposite is true. As he admits (p. 71), memra is a particularly inexact label in the collection.

8. VÖÖBUS, Kanonessammlungen, 233 nn.33,35. The treatise on free will (not mentioned by VÖÖBUS) is in a single MS, Brit.Mus. Add. 14731 (xi cent.).

9. Its precise indication of the day of his death (Saturday, 12 February) suggests that the biography was intended to commemorate him on that day.

10. It is furthermore just possible that MS Mingana Syr. 65 witnesses to the existence of the collection in the xi cent. This MS contains MbK on the Hexaemeron and on Paradise along with the anonymous biography in the form quoted in note j on p. 66. The colophon of this MS, itself written in AD 1903 at Mosul (Catalogue, col. 168), dates its exemplar to A.Gr. 1390 = AD 1078/9. Mosul is indeed where the exemplar of MS L once was (see ch.4), but does the colophon imply that the biography was copied from the same MS as the rest of the volume?

11. ed. STROTHMANN.

12. ed. CONNOLLY, 11-90.

13. They prove nothing, however, if the author was as thoughtless as DbṢ who copied out the latter statement intact into his own commentary!

14. See the Appendix, p.372, and HARRIS, "Introduction", xxx. Cf. BAUMSTARK, Gesch.282 n.10 for the same result with the two authors' commentaries on the liturgy.

15. See the discussion in ch. 3.

16. Cf. VOSTÉ, "Introduction", 218f.

17. Gesch.282.

18. Kanonessammlungen, 232, where n.31 refers to MS Add. 17181. In "Liturgiegeschichtliches Schrifttum",70 he limits the borrowing to those of the homilies called "explanations".

19. For an introduction and detailed table of contents to this work, see BAUMSTARK, "De causis festorum". Editions: Thomas of Edessa (general prologue and Christmas), CARR; id. (Epiphany), SCHER, PO 7.15-82; Cyrus of Edessa (six other festivals), MACOMBER.

20. Six Explanations, p. VI of tnsl. volume. Cf. his n.6 for other ways of translating ܦܫܪ.

21. The exception of no.14 noted above is a later addition to the collection; see the Appendix.

22. So all scholars, including BARSUM, 450, who calls the collection ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܐܡܪ̈ܐ ܕܡܪ ܡܪܝ ܕܝܘܣܛܘܣ ܐܦ ܡܪ̈ܐ ܕܫܪ̈ܝ and whose description conflates the two works. The confusion has no doubt been prompted by (a) WRIGHT's reference to B.O.ii.131 no. 9, i.e. the homilies, in his catalogue description of Add. 17188, and (b) a subscription in one MS of the homilies calling the collection ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܐܡܪ̈ܐ ܕܡܪ ܡܪܝ ܕܝܘܣܛܘܣ ܐܦ ܡܪ̈ܐ ܕܫܪ̈ܝ (fol. 132a of MS L, printed by WRIGHT, Cat.ii.878).

23. This appears to be VÖÖBUS's tendency ("Liturgiegeschichtliches Schrifttum", 70), but seems to me the wrong approach to understanding the collection, because (1) the reasons given below point to editorial work as a better way of accounting for the diversity of forms; and (2) the proposed genres either fail to correspond to the forms found in the collection (as in the case of the "explanations" discussed above), or elude definition by shading into one another (as with those in note 7 above).

24. It is interesting to see the same state of affairs in connection with a different work, the Quaestiones veteris et novi testamenti of Ps-Augustine. Here some questions are exegetical and others theological; some are intended for a reader and others were apparently preached; many concern the liturgical festivals. BARDY comments (p. 346):

> On serait tenté de croire que la collection des Quaestiones groupe, assez artificiellement, des pièces d'origines diverses, qui auraient été réunies de bonne heure par un copiste, ou mieux par un amateur de problèmes.

BARDY thinks that in the case of this author this conclusion is precluded by a uniformity of style throughout the work. In MbK's case too so many links exist with his authentic works that this explanation will only do if the collected materials are allowed to derive from MbK himself.

25. MS H; see the discussion in ch. 4 below. But homily no. 12, peculiar to H, is again labelled "explanations".

3. Sources

BAUMSTARK divides the history of Syriac exegesis into three periods, of which MbK is representative of the last, the eclectic period in which all kinds of sources, both Greek and Syriac, were exploited and worked together by commentators.[1] The end term of this trend was the encyclopedic commentary in which questions about (real or artificial) difficulties are answered with whole lists of alternative answers from various named and unnamed sources. Among the earliest examples of this form of exegesis are the works of MbK, and it is tempting to credit him with its invention. If this could be maintained, it would be easy to go along with VÖÖBUS's praise:

> Poussé par une puissance créatrice, il est le premier exégète à étendre si loin son activité qu'il embrasse aussi bien l'Ancien que le Nouveau Testament. Son oeuvre est aussi excellente par la quantité que par la qualité. Grâce à lui, l'étude exégétique atteignit l'apogée dans son Église. . . Son aptitude à assimiler ces matériaux et à les améliorer lui permit de développer les traditions exégétiques de l'Église syrienne occidentale.[2]

However, it hardly seems that MbK was the first to adopt this style of exegetical writing. From his Nestorian near-contemporaries and one or two nearly contemporary Jacobite commentaries (in particular, "George of Be'eltan" on Mt) it seems rather that he often made use of still earlier compilations of exegesis.

Most readers and editors of MbK's works have been more guarded than VÖÖBUS in attributing originality to MbK. To CHABOT, his exegesis "paraît peu original".[3] On the Hexaemeron, BAKOŠ comments, "Leider müssen wir in der Zoologie auch diesem syrischen Verfasser jede

Originalität absprechen".[4] Some examples are given by VOSTÉ ("Introduction", 218f.) of how slavishly MbK could copy out his sources, in these cases his own works. VOSTÉ would surely include MbK in his more general and dismal judgment:

> La littérature syriaque semble avoir perdu à partir du VI^e siècle toute originalité; toute sève créatrice semble épuisée à la suite du schisme et des persécutions. . . Après le VI^e siècle il n'y a plus que des compilateurs et des abbréviateurs.[5]

Accepting this verdict, however, makes the study of these late writers' sources all the more worthwhile. In the first place it can show how long and in what forms the influence of earlier writers persisted; secondly it sets up a presumption that what cannot be identified in MbK may nonetheless be old. The remainder of this chapter, together with the commentary, will make it clear that the homilies furnish plenty of instances where MbK is reproducing the words of earlier authors, and that the changes are all in favour of even more extensive dependence by MbK on earlier sources, even where these cannot be identified. It may be well to state in advance that this last is usually the case, and in this respect this study will be no exception to the rule that sources otherwise unknown have to be posited to account for the complex relationships of borrowing and dependence among works of this period.[6]

a. Chrysostom and George of Be'eltan

In the case of homilies nos. 7, 8, and 9, the ultimate source of much of MbK's material exists and it is possible to see fairly clearly in what relation he stands to it. This source is Chrysostom's

sixth and ninth homilies on Mt, on the Magi (Mt 2.1-3) and the Slaughter of the Innocents (2.16-23) respectively. Chrysostom's homilies were early translated into Syriac and survive in a number of MSS,[7] and might even have been available in this form to MbK. However, it may seem unlikely that MbK was responsible for compiling Chrysostom's work and all the other Greek and Syriac citations which appear in these homilies.

In any case we are prevented from thinking that he did so by the most fortunate survival in one MS (Vat.Syr. 154) of another early Syriac commentary on Mt. This commentary was attributed by S.E. ASSEMANI to the Jacobite Patriarch George of Be'eltan (†789/90) (hereafter, GB), presumably on the basis of the words ܦܫܩܢܐ ܕܡܪ ܓܝܘܪܓܝ ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܥܠܬܢ which his catalogue quotes.[8] The beginning of the MS is, however, lost, and there is otherwise room for doubt as to whether this label is correct. In particular, no exegesis of Mt is preserved in later Syriac authors in George's name, and the descriptions of George's literary output by Michael and Bar Hebraeus do not obviously refer to a biblical commentary.[9] Nonetheless, the MS may be dated on grounds of palaeography to the viii-ix (with BAUMSTARK), or at the very latest x, century (ASSEMANI), and therefore GB has to be considered a possible source for MbK's work.

The text of GB has never been printed,[10] so the three passages which are parallel to MbK are translated below. It is easy to see that (unless he has himself used MbK) GB stands close to the kind of source used by MbK, in which most of the citations by name of

earlier Greek and Syriac writers were already assembled. Table I following the translation below shows how the contents of MbK's three homilies occur in GB and Chrysostom. The assignment of a passage of MbK to one or another column does not imply that it corresponds to that author verbatim, though this is largely true, but that the argument is the same.

21a1 Concerning the Magi, it is right for us to ask eleven explanations: 1. on their race; 2. on their country; 3. on the reason which persuaded them to come; 4. how many they were; 5. and why all of them were not called; 6. at what time the star appeared to them; 7. and what that star was; 8. and why he drew them by means of a star; 9. and why it appeared to the Magi and not to the Jews; 10. and what the reason is that persuaded them to bring three offerings; 11. and what Magianism is.

1. Now the Magi are of the race of Elam the son of Shem, as Jacob of Edessa has said. But Eusebius and Gregory of Nyssa say
21a2 they are of the descendants of Balàam|. Others again say, of the descendants of the kings of Sheba and Seba. But of whatever (race) they were, they were rulers and famous men.

2. They came from Persia, for that is also where they used to live.

3. Some such reason as this persuaded them to come. When Daniel and his companions were taken captive to Babylon with the people of the Hebrews, they were reading the prophecy of Balaam and that, again, of "The kings of Sheba and Seba will bring him offerings", before the sons of the kings of Persia and of Sheba and of Seba who were taken captive there. And thence these Magi received this knowledge by tradition, for it came to them by tradition from their ancestors. And they were expecting the shining forth of a strange and unwonted star, and the nativity of a human man from the land of the Jews who would hold sway

over many nations. And when they saw the star, they also checked these words against the matter (at hand). They hastened readily to Palestine - the more so, God having awakened their souls, that they should go by the guidance of the star, just as
21b1 he did to | Cyrus too when he incited him to loose the captivity of the Jews.

4. There were not three men, as some have supposed because of the three-foldness of holy gifts, but twelve rulers. Others say, eight, because of what is written in Isaiah: "He shall raise against (or on account of) him seven shepherds and eight leaders - that is, nobles - of men". There was with them an army, more than a thousand men, so that Jerusalem should be shaken at the sight of them.

5. Why he did not show this apparition to all the Magi. (It was) because not all of them were to believe. For many nations perished, and to Nineveh alone was the prophet sent. And two thieves were hung on a cross, and only one was saved. That these men who came were exceptional, their confidence testifies, that they were not afraid of Herod or of the Jews, and that they endured the arduous labour of the way. And it seems to me that they became preachers in the land of Persia; they were also the first fruits of the calling of the nations. For if they preached
21b2 in Judaea before Herod |, how much more (would they preach) in their country.

6. On the time of the [appearance]* of the star. John, in his commentary on the Gospel, and Cyril, in those (treatises) against Julian, say that a great while before Our Saviour's being born the star appeared to the Magi, so that before eight days (had passed) of his being born - as Cyril says - they might meet him. But both of them say the Magi found him in the manger and in the cave, wrapped in swaddling-cloths. But Epiphanius

* Words in square brackets are probable but unclear in the MS.

of Cyprus says, Our Saviour was born in Bethlehem, was circumcised in the cave, went up to the temple, was carried by Simeon, then went to Nazareth, and at the turn of the year they brought him to appear before the Lord. And they also went to Bethlehem, and again returned to Nazareth. And at the end of two years they brought him up to Jerusalem. And they went to Bethlehem, for they loved ever to see the place where he was born. And when they were in Bethlehem in the second year of his being born, the Magi came, entered the house, found him, and
22a1 worshipped | [him. And] that night in a vision it was said to Joseph [by] an angel to go to Egypt. And he was there two years until Herod died, and Archelaus his son reigned. And then he went up. And if that same night it was said to Joseph to go to Egypt, and he was not yet even eight days old, as they say, how did he go up to the temple and (how) was he carried by Simeon, as Luke has said? It stands, therefore, that in the second year of his being born, they came, as Epiphanius has said. And Eusebius agrees with this in his Chronicle and in those (Questions and Answers) to Stephen, for he says:

> They began to travel on the way from their country at once when Jesus was born; they arrived after two years. And the fact that "he killed the children of Bethlehem and its borders from two years old and under, according to the time which he ascertained from the Magi", testifies (to this).

Mar Ephrem also agrees with these things, by that (expression) "in the year, the second year". And thus the word of Matthew and of Luke does [not]* stand oppositely, that the one takes him from Bethlehem to Nazareth, and the other from
22a2 Beth|lehem to Egypt. For he went to Jerusalem after forty days, as Luke has said, and then to Nazareth, and at the end of two years from Bethlehem they went to Egypt as Matthew has said.

* later hand, above the line.

7. That star was not one of the natural ones, but one of the supernal powers which took the form of a star and became guide to the Magi. And this is inferred from six reasons. 1. From its (way of) proceeding. While (among) the other stars, some of them are fixed in the stationary sphere, and an immovable position is theirs, and some of them are never still from movement, this one moves, going before the Magi, and stops, indicating the place. 2. And whereas the stars in the sphere of heaven travel from east to west, this one was hastening from north to south. For so Palestine is situated in relation to Persia. 3. And from the times that it was appearing to them, that not only by night was it appearing but also by day, and was especially strong at noon - which is not (the way) of stars,
22b1 and not even of the moon, which is | stronger than all of them. 4. That there were times when it was appearing to them, and there were times when it was concealed. It appeared in Persia and on the way, and it was hidden in Jerusalem, and again it appeared after the Magi left it - which is not (the way) of stars but of a rational and amazing power. 5. That neither was it taking a definite (way of) travel, but when it was fitting that the Magi should go on it was going on, and when it was fitting that they should stop, it was stopping - in the fashion of Israel's pillar. 6. From the manner of its pointing him out, i.e., that it lowered itself and descended and stood above the cave, and showed them the place in which the child was - which was impossible when it was in the heavens unless it had descended below, to be (there). For it is impossible for a star to show such a small place distinctly from the heavens. For lo, even the moon, which is larger than the stars, is supposed by all from the earth to be equally near them all.
22b2 So then, how could a star show | the place where the child was unless it left all (its) height and was lowered and stood

above the place? And if it lowered itself and then showed (it), it is plain that it was not a star of nature but one of the supernal and intelligent (beings). On these things, John and Cyril and Theodotus of Ancyra agree.

Julian the pagan said that this account of the star is not true, because - he says - no one among mathematicians knew this star, in that it did not exist. He ought to have known that if because of great matters those stars have appeared which have been called <the comet>* and <"the spear (star)">* and the "beard-like" (star), then this would not have been extraordinary, that by the will of God an unwonted star should shine forth at the time of the birth of God the Word and announce his birth beforehand. (This is) even though it was not a star but one of the suprasensual powers.

8. Again, he drew them by means of the sight of a star, condescending to their weakness, that by means of matters to
23a1 which they were accustomed | he might call them. (It is) as he preached to Saul his death and his sons' death by means of the witch, and (as) he taught Balaam his (sc. God's) power by those things which he did to Balak. For to everyone the matters to which he is accustomed are pleasant: because of this, God, as we have said, and those sent by him for the salvation of men, use this scheme. (It is) as Paul did, who circumcised and kept the Law when he was speaking with Jews, and adduced the testimony of a poet when he was debating with pagans. Do not suppose of God that he performs any unseemly matter (in) that he called the Magi by means of a star. Otherwise you reject all the things of the Law, i.e. sacrifices, purifications, the "chief of months", the ark, even the temple! For all these things took their start from the bodily sense of paganism. But on account of the salvation of

* Cf. commentary to 8.6:14f.

the perishing, he admitted it, that by that means, when the pagans were honouring demons, he too might be honoured - making changes
23a2 in some | parts - that little by little he might draw them from that custom. That (is) what he did to the Magi also: at first he called them through the power of a star, and afterwards he speaks with them by an angel, and thus he advanced them to excellence. So he performed also for the inhabitants of Ashkelon and of Gaza and the rest. When they were smitten with boils they called their soothsayers and they said, "Yoke bulls under the ark", etc. "And thus this scourge is to be recognized, if it is from God or from chance: if such-and-such takes place, it is of God, and if such-and-such, it is by chance." And when these soothsayers spoke, and those (others) were convinced, God also confirmed the counsel of the soothsayers. And he did not consider it a disgrace that he should condescend and confirm the thing which the soothsayers said, for that his enemies should testify to the truth is much greater. So also the Magi: because their teaching was in the course of stars and through them they believed they learned about all truth, he did not send to them
23b1 a prophet or an angel, for they would not have been convinced, but he showed them a great star, transformed in its appearance and in its greatness and in its beauty. And by means of it he informed them about his nativity. And with the star he effected in them the proper calculation about his birth.

9. Why it appeared to the Magi and not to the Jews. 1. Because the Jews were indifferent and did not listen to the voices of the prophets who were prophesying about his coming, he sent the Magi, that they might preach to them the thing which they did not wish to accept. 2. That the Jews might not be supposed, in professing him, to have gone astray through fantasies because of his common race (with them) and (their) expectation of him who was to come. 3. That when the Magi go up by (one) way and go down by another, they should preach about the kingdom of him

who had shone forth, namely when they boast of how great their knowledge (is) which made known this event to them. For there was peace between them and the other kings of the time.

10. From the divine revelation, again, they accepted that they should offer a three-foldness of offerings.

23b2 11. How Magianism is different from Chaldeanism. | Magianism is a sect on the side of paganism. And it is akin to astrology in the knowledge of the luminaries and of horoscopes and in (the belief in) the government of stars. However, the Chaldeans worship the stars, while the Magi (worship) the elements. Each of them names its own (object of worship) living and intelligent.

Now having learned these things of the Magi, it is right that we should make known this also: that some, having wished to establish the teaching of Chaldeanism, have said: this - they say - makes known all the more that Chaldeanism is true, that lo, even when Christ was born, a star appeared to those who were versed in this teaching. But we say against them:
1. If he was born by the power which Chaldeanism claims, how did he immediately abolish Chaldeanism and set aside fates?
2. Again, how could they have learned this from one star, when lo, the Chaldeans construct one's horoscope from many? - i.e. from the signs of the Zodiac and from the seven planets.
24a1 3. And what were those Magi learning | from the star? Perhaps you say, "That he was King of the Jews". Lo, he was not a king here (on earth), as he said, and he had no troop except twelve fishermen. And (he led) an ascetic life with not even a house. And if (you say), "They knew him as King of Kings", this is not of the power of Chaldeanism. For kings who are known from stars according to their word, rule over nations and become great by means of ranks of soldiers, and by sword and battle subject enemies. But this one (was) the opposite of all these things. So then it is plain that the revelation of Christ's birth to the Magi was not in the order of the teaching of Chaldeanism.

27b2 And he had the children of Bethlehem killed, and of all its borders, from two years old and under, according to the time which he ascertained from the Magi. Many ask and say, "Why did God neglect the children that they should be killed? For Christ was sought for by Herod, and when he was not found out, why was the fulfilment of his intention on the children?" With this they also find fault concerning the soldiers who were guarding Peter, that just as here because the Lord fled the children were slain in his stead, so also in what lay ahead, when the angel set Simon free from prison and chains, another
28a1 Herod killed the soldiers who were guarding | him in his stead. But we say to them, Christ was not the cause of the killing of the children, nor Peter of the soldiers, but (it was) the ferocity of the kings. For if Herod had seen the walls broken through or the gates destroyed, it would have been right to blame the guards for negligence. But if everything (was) standing, he ought to have worshipped him who does new things, and not killed the guards. For God wished to convert the king, and not that the guards should be killed. So also here, the coming of the Magi, the assembly of the scribes and Pharisees, and the reading of the prophecy, took place so that Herod might be saved and believe, and not so that he should kill the babe[s]. But Herod was bereft of excuse.

However, why did God let go his hand in the killing of the children? Regarding these things, we say, Those who do evil are many, but there is no one who has truly had evil (done to him). For everything we may suffer accidentally, whatever it be - either God has assessed that suffering to us for the forgiveness
28a2 of sins, or | he prepares a payment for us on its account. For the sufferings which befall us accidentally - either we are requited for sins by them, or we receive crowns by them. Attend to Paul, who said concerning the one who committed adultery,

"You should deliver this one to Satan in the body, that in the spirit he may be saved in the day of Our Lord". And David, when Shimei reviled him, commanded that he should not be killed, that he might be rewarded good things for his being reviled. And in the Psalms he says, "See how many are my enemies, and see my subjection and my labour, and forgive me all my sin". And because of this, rest received Lazarus, because he had endured evils. Those, then, upon whom evil <has come>* do not lack (a reward) if they endure valiantly the things that come upon them, whether they be chastised by God or scourged by Satan.

"And what sin", they say, "Did the children have that was imputed to them?" But if they had no sins, they are rewarded good things for the evils they endured. "And lo, if they had remained, they would have done many eminent things". Know, that God would not have allowed them to die if they were truly
28b1 going to be eminent. For if he is patient to the impious, | all the more would he not allow these to be killed if he had been convinced that they would go on (to do) eminent things. However, they were set free from evils and went, pure and numbered with the martyrs. And they live in soul and are preserved in Paradise, and inherit the Kingdom. But Herod was rewarded in his three sons, in his wife, and (that) he died in wretchedness. And a fearful judgment is in store for him.

29a2 And how (is it that) from Bethlehem Matthew has said that he went to Egypt, but Luke (has said) to Jerusalem and from there to Nazareth? Both of them are true, but (the narrative) of Luke is prior. Forhe stayed forty days in Bethlehem and then went to Jerusalem, and offered offerings, and from Jerusalem he went to Nazareth. And at the turn of the year he
29b1 came to Jerusalem, and then returned | to Nazareth. And at the end of two years, he returned to Bethlehem, and there the Magi

* Reading (with the Syriac version of Chrysostom's hom. ix) ܟܕܡ for ܥܕܡ.

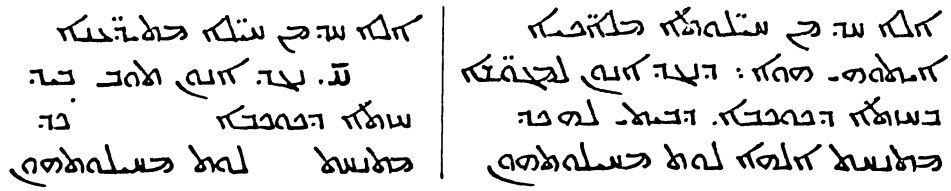
worshipped him. And from Bethlehem he went to Egypt as Matthew has said. Luke recounts where he was born and the things that took place at his birth, and that he went up to Jerusalem when the days of their purification were elapsed, and (that) when they had fulfilled the things of the Law they went to Nazareth. But Matthew, after both of them, indicates that the Magi came and found him in Bethlehem after he was circumcised, and offered offerings. And he was two years old. And from there Joseph was commanded to take him to Egypt. And after two years when he was in Egypt he returned to Nazareth. And thus the words of Luke and of Matthew are true.

In determining the relationship between GB and MbK, it is first easy to show that GB did not copy MbK's homilies. This is most obvious from the fact that GB contains material from Chrysostom which is not in MbK: the clearest quotations are the statement that these particular Magi were bold (GB 21b1-2, Chrys. PG 57.67:27ff.), the discussion of the soothsayers in 1 Sam 6 (GB 23a2, Chrys. 66:14ff.), and the motto "Those who do evil are many ..." (GB 28a1, Chrys. 177:22). A second argument, if one is needed, is that the order of GB's material is more original than MbK's order. This is true first of the material which derives from Chrysostom: GB's proofs that the "star" was not a star (22a2-b2) reproduce those of Chrysostom (64:10ff.) in order (although he counts them as six instead of four), but MbK displaces one of them from the main discussion in 8§ii to make a separate section 8§v. More important, GB's order is also the more original in the non-Chrysostom passages common to him and MbK. This is of course more difficult to show without any control like Chrysostom at hand, but it is clear from the first paragraph of 8§vii, which corresponds to GB 22b2.

MbK homily & section	Chrysostom and GB	GB only	Neither
7§i		x	
§ii		x	
§iii		x	
§iv			x
§v		x	
§vi	7.2:27-.3:2		7.2:20-27
§vii			x
§viii			x
§ix	x		
§x			x
§xi		7.5:14-.6:11, 7.7:4-13	7.6:11-.7:4
§xii			x
8§i	8.1:1-10	8.1:10-18	8.1:18-.2:15
§ii	x		
§iii			x
§iv			x
§v	x		
§vi			x
§vii	8.6:24-.7:23	8.6:9-23	
§viii			x
9§i ↓ §vii			x ↓ x
§viii	9.3:25-.4:6, 9.4:13-.5:22		9.4:7-12, 9.5:23-.6:3
§ix	9.6:19-.7:9		9.6:4-19, 9.7:9-14
§x	9.8:4-9	9.8:2-4	9.7:15-.8:2

Table I: Parallels with Chrysostom and George of Be'eltan on Mt 2

The ~~sentence~~ clause in MbK beginning "~~For~~ which God accommodated it..." seems out of place as part of the answer to Julian the Apostate; it ought rather to begin a new section, as it almost does in GB. The text of the two authors at this seam is as follows:



GB | MbK

It looks as if MbK mistook a numeral beginning a new section for the relative ה, and ran his own sentence on. This comes close in fact to proof that MbK's source was something at least very similar in form and wording to GB.

Nonetheless it is not possible to pass to the conclusion that GB was MbK's source. There are just a few points at which MbK seems the more original when compared with GB.

1. The most probative of these are the two places in 9§viii which come from Chrysostom but which are not found in GB (28a1). The first of these (9.5:6-8) describes what Herod should have said to himself after being duped by the Magi, and seems to come from Chrysostom's "And even if you were deceived by the Magi, what is that to the young children who have done no wrong?" (177:30-32). The second is the detail that Herod, had he tried to investigate Peter's escape from prison, would have seen the chains still attached to the soldiers' hands (9.4:21f.), which agrees very closely with Chrysostom (177:2-5).

2. Another passage of the same kind is MbK's closing reference in 9§x to Eusebius for the story of Herod's demise. This would appear to come from Chrysostom's discussion (179:2f.) even though it has been changed from Chrysostom's reference to Josephus. No reference at all appears in the corresponding passage of GB (28b1), although GB and MbK agree in supplying details of Herod's punishment not found in Chrysostom.

3. Included in the material in both authors not derived from Chrysostom is a testimonium of Ephrem (HNat xxvi.1) to the arrival of the Magi when Christ was two years old. In GB (22a1) only three words are quoted and the point of the quotation lost, while in MbK (7.6:10f.) the whole line appears.[11]

4. In considering the race of the Magi, both GB and MbK cite Jacob of Edessa: GB (21a1-2) subscribes to his opinion that they were descendants of Elam, while MbK (7§i) merely lists this opinion among others. The last sentence in both authors ("But of whatever (race) they were..."), however, makes strict sense only if the question, as in MbK, has not been decided. MbK would therefore appear to stand nearer to the source of the quotation than GB. The same conclusion is probably justified in the passage on the number of the Magi (GB 21b1, MbK 7§iii). This time GB does not say that Jacob is his authority for the opinion that there were twelve Magi, but comparing the wording with MbK's and with Jacob's own[12] it seems most likely that again both are dependent on Jacob with MbK the closer to the source.

Since direct literary dependence between GB's commentary and MbK's homilies has been ruled out in both directions, it has to be

concluded that both works had a common source. The first set of arguments above suggests that this source was much closer to GB than to MbK, while the second set makes it likely that GB's terse style represents at some points an abbreviation of the source.

Now it is true that, so far, the comparison has been between two different kinds of literary production, "homilies" and commentary. It might be possible that a study of MbK's own commentary on Mt would present a different picture of the relationship between the two authors. Such a study would go beyond the limits of this thesis and would also have to reckon with the very incompletely preserved state of MbK's commentary.[13] For the present, the overlap between the parts of the two commentaries accessible to me is confined to several chapters in the two introductions.[14] (The introductory chapter titles often coincide, though a number of chapters are peculiar to each.[15]) As an example of how the two commentaries appear when treating the same subject ("Why there are many humble things in Our Lord's words, and what the reason is for them") the two texts are given side by side in Table II on the next page.

The impression created by these two presentations of the same argument is that neither one is dependent on the other. It appears on the one hand that MbK has arrived at his ten reasons by omitting no. 8 of GB and enlisting the sentence "It is permitted to someone exalted..." - which is correctly not given as a "reason" in GB - as his tenth. The great amount of repetition in MbK also makes it a reasonable inference that he has expanded his source to make it more

MbK (40a2-b2)

ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ནི། ཐོག་མར་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་གྲངས་ཀྱི་ཚིག་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཐོག་ཏུ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། ཐོག་མ་ཡོད་ན་ཐ་མ་ཡང་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། །ཐ་མ་ཡོད་ན་ཐོག་མ་ཡང་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། །ཐོག་མ་ཡོད་ན་ཐ་མ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན་ནམ་ཞེ་ན། ཐོག་མ་ཡོད་ན་ཐ་མ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། ཐོག་མ་ཡོད་ན་ཐ་མ

conversational. On the other hand, it is hard to resist the impression that GB's very compact style is an abbreviation of a longer version which made the logic of the argument clearer: GB's last sentence is perhaps the most suggestive in this direction.

It is perhaps worth adding to the balance the weight of BEYER's similar conclusion on the basis of Eusebius's Quaestiones as preserved in GB and DbṢ. BEYER did not use any text of MbK, but he noticed that at certain points longer versions of Eusebius material were found in DbṢ than in GB. This means that DbṢ's own source, which was most likely to have been MbK's commentary, must have derived this material independently of GB.[16] Nothing so far noticed in the two commentaries, then, seems likely to upset the conclusion stated before, that some one source stands behind both GB and MbK.[17]

b. Nestorian commentators

It is usually stated that the development of East and West Syrian traditions of exegesis proceeded independently. So, for example, JANSMA:[18]

> Since the Christological controversies of the Vth century and the ensuing breach between East and West, the exegesis in the Nestorian and Jacobite Churches developed along separate lines. In the XIIth and XIIIth centuries contacts were reestablished.

BEYER's stemma of commentators (p.68) likewise shows no branches crossing the East-West line until the time of DbṢ and Bar Hebraeus. But the evidence from MbK's homilies shows this mutual isolation to be fictitious; this much is clear even though we must again suppose that direct borrowing took place between the two sides only from

sources now lost. This evidence comes from two groups of Nestorian sources.

1. An inspection of the commentary of Isho'dad of Merv (fl. 850; hereafter, IM) and the seventh memra of the Book of Scholia of Theodore bar Koni (fl. 791/2; hereafter, TbK) quickly turns up some of the same exegesis of Mt 2 as that which appears in MbK and GB.[19]

It may be worthwhile to present the outlines of IM's and TbK's discussions side by side.

IM(٥٥-٦٤)	TbK (68-70,72)
1. 12 Magi, of whom 3 were kings.	1. Chaldeanism is not true.
2. The star was not a star but an angel.	a. The star was not a real one.
a. It shone by night and day.	iii. It shone by night and day.
b. It was seen only by the Magi.	
c. It did not burn although it descended to point out the house.	
d. It outshone the sun.	
e. It moved from SE to N to W.	i. It moved from E to S.
f. It was hidden when the Magi were in towns.	ii. At Jerusalem it was hidden.
3. Chaldeanism is nonetheless not true.	(See above)
a. The star was not a real one.	
b. It requires 7 planets and 12 signs of the Zodiac.	b. Only warlike earthly kings are known from stars.
	c. It requires 7 planets and 12 signs of the Zodiac.
4. An explanation of horoscopes.	2. An explanation of horoscopes.
5. Why he announced the birth by a star.	4. The Magi were accustomed to stars. It was similar to his action with Balaam.
a. He made use of foreigners and their beliefs.	
b. Christ had been called "star", "light", etc.	
c. That they might be led to the sun (Christ).	
d. To destroy Chaldeanism.	
e. To show that even stars are subject to him.	
f. To show that Christ is supreme, heavenly.	

6. Why it was shown to the Magi.
   a. Enemies' testimony is more credible.
   b. For the reproof of the Jews.
   c. Persia and Egypt were idolatrous.
   d. There were political pretenders in Israel.
   e. Publicity would come from the Magi.
   f. To fulfil "The kings of Sheba...".
7. How the Magi knew to come.
   Some: From the kings of Sheba etc. via Daniel.
   Others: From Balaam.
   In truth: From Zardusht.
8. Zardusht's prophecy.
9. Symbolic meanings of the gifts.
10. "Cave of Treasures" story to be rejected.

3. Why he announced the birth to foreigners.
   a. Enemies' testimony is more credible.
   b. For the reproof of the Jews.
7. Daniel-Kings of Sheba story absurd.
11. Zardusht's prophecy.
5. Symbolic meanings of the gifts.
6. "Cave of Treasures" story absurd.
8. Chronology of the Magi's trip.
9. Herod, not Christ, to blame for the killing of the babes.
10. The names of the Magi.

CLARKE has shown that the works of IM, TbK, and Isho‘bar Nun are independent of one another but share a source in which question-and-answer and other material had been already combined.[20] CLARKE also emphasizes TbK's relatively greatest freedom in using this source, and his dependence on other sources at the same time.[21] (Isho‘bar Nun does not come into the present discussion since his work, at least in the form in which it is preserved in MS Cambridge Add. 2017, has nothing in common with the other commentators on Mt 2.[22]) This conclusion was arrived at on the basis of the three commentaries on the beginning of Gn, but the outline above suggests that it best

explains the relationship of IM and TbK in the present passage also. The source must have set the terms for the discussion, but TbK answered some of the set questions slightly differently from IM and also abbreviated the whole presentation.

Now it might be attractive to suppose that this source was a close relative of the one standing behind GB and MbK, but the matter is more complicated than that. To be noticed especially is that only TbK adduces the fact that earthly kings alone are recognized by horoscopes, mentions that the Magi were accustomed to stars, or discusses the blame for the slaughter of the innocents - all of which subjects are found in Chrysostom and taken up in GB and MbK's source. It is unlikely that IM should have left just these points out of his commentary, so the conclusion is suggested that it is instead one of TbK's special sources which has the links with the Jacobite commentators. This seems the more likely since TbK's dependence on Chrysostom is restricted to material already in GB.

It would be dangerous to try to make this conclusion any more precise on the basis of the present small sample of text. On the one hand, some features of GB and MbK can be found in IM as well as TbK - notably the whole structure of questions to be answered, as well as the discussion of planets and the Zodiac - so that some contact in addition between the two posited common sources cannot be ruled out. On the other hand there is the fact that the nearly-identical lists of the names of the Magi[23] appear in TbK and MbK alone. If any trace of this discussion could be found in IM on the one side, or GB on the

other, this too might serve to strengthen the evidence for a close contact between the sources of all these commentaries. But GB does not insist even on the number twelve (nor does MbK in 7§iii!), and IM states that only three of the twelve were kings, whereas "These men were kings, sons of kings" (7.2:14) belongs to the list of names. It is most likely that in at least the case of these names MbK and TbK share a particular source.

2. There are two further Nestorian sources affording parallels to MbK's exegesis, this time on Lk as well as Mt. The more important is the commentary on the lectionary called the Gannat Bussame (x cent.?[24]), which provides a large number of identical or obviously related statements. These occur irregularly throughout the relevant weekly sections in the GanB, so are best left for the commentary to cite at the parallel passages in MbK. Some are quoted at length to show the close agreement with the homilies. Finally, the poet Isaac Eshbadnaya (fl.1440) has included in the commentary to his poem "On the Divine Economy" some remarks about the star which are very close to MbK's and which seem to appear nowhere else.[25]

In the case of these later sources it is of course not impossible that the dependence may be theirs on MbK. This however is unlikely, for at least two reasons. First, the GanB often takes no account of the exegesis represented by MbK, e.g. at 4.1:3-6 where the opinions given do not include MbK's. In other discussions parallel with MbK the GanB gives an impression of independence and sometimes (as e.g. at 1.4:22ff. and 9.2:20ff.) of priority. Secondly and more immediately,

a number of the parallel passages are attributed to earlier authors. In the present edition they are these:[26]

Mar Abba on 1.1:19–23, 1.4:22ff., 3.1:7(?), 3.1:9–14(?), 4.3:3–22, 13.5:14–6:11
Mar Abba of Kashkar on 8.3.21ff.
Ḥenanisho‘ on 8.2:16ff.
Ṣeharbokt on 13.3:10f.

Of these, the last author is of unknown date,[27] and Ḥenanisho‘ was probably a contemporary of MbK.[28] The first two are more probative since the latest figure to whom they could refer is the Katholikos Mar Abba II, who died well before MbK's time.[29]

If the GanB is unlikely to have used MbK, there are two remaining possible ways of accounting for their literary relationship: (1) to credit some or all of the attributions in the GanB and suppose that MbK (or a source) has used these authors or another source incorporating them; and (2) to suppose that these texts go back further, to a source antedating the Christological schism and used by both E. and W. Syrian writers.

Now the second possibility is virtually excluded by the absence of any likely candidates for such a source. Besides the Fathers well known in Syriac tradition, none of whom offers the exegesis in question, there are perhaps only three sources to be considered:

1. Theodore of Mopsuestia's lost commentaries on Mt and Lk might be responsible for some of this material. At present, however, the extant fragments of these works[30] do not encourage this conclusion by any significant contact with the homilies – still less with what is common to them and the Nestorians. (See only on 1.3:4, 7.2:23).

2. The "Mar Abba" citations in the GanB could just possibly refer to a iv-century author and disciple of Ephrem by this name, of whose "Commentary on the Gospel" a few fragments are preserved.[31] In this case there is the desired contact (see the commentary on 2.1:5ff.,17f.), but the text is short and commonplace and does not in fact correspond to anything labelled "Mar Abba" in the GanB. Mar Abba remains an intriguing but also unencouraging possibility.

3. The only other candidate is the curriculum of the School of Edessa-Nisibis. This has to be mentioned because JANSMA has suggested that in the case of another W. Syrian author, Jacob of Serug, some exegesis deriving from Theodore and shared by Narsai must be traced to the teaching of the school.[32] On the other hand, it is clear that this line of reasoning works only because Jacob actually attended the school in his younger days. In the case of MbK there is of course no evidence of personal contact with the school, and we are led back to written sources as the channel of its influence, if any, on him.

The first possibility has more to commend it. In fact the qualification in it that MbK's dependence on the Nestorian source might be only at second hand, is to all appearances unnecessary. A comparison of Table I with the commentary on nos. 7,8,and 9 shows that the GanB parallels do not occur with material in common between GB and MbK (except once, at 8§ii deriving from Chrysostom). These texts, then, did not appear in the common source of GB and MbK, and the conclusion follows that MbK himself may have used a Nestorian source in his homilies. This possibility has after all nothing to be said against

it. On the eastern frontier of the territory of the Jacobite church, MbK would doubtless have been in contact with the Nestorian church, and in the case discussed above in ch. 2 of his Explanations of the Festivals he certainly borrowed a Nestorian literary form.

It is unfortunately impossible on the present evidence to go any further in specifying what the Nestorian source used in the homilies might have been. It is difficult even to put the results of considering the GanB and Isaac Eshbadnaya together with those obtained from IM and TbK. It turns out in particular that no Mar Abba is quoted by IM, nor have I seen any quotations in TbK - implying that the GanB got its Mar Abba quotations, at least, from a source unrelated to IM and TbK. One is forced to conclude that MbK used either two Nestorian sources, one used also by IM and one other derived (partly) from Mar Abba, or else a collection earlier than the GanB in which these two sources had already been combined. The second of these possibilities is the more likely, and not less so because no known exegetical work meets the specifications. As MACOMBER has reminded, the recovery and study of Nestorian exegetical works is only beginning,[33] and there is no reason to suppose that no such work could come to light.

c. Others

GB, and next to him the Nestorians, are the writers whose works stand nearest to the homilies of MbK. Aside from these, and outside homilies nos. 7-9, no potential sources appear which have any such extensive agreement with MbK. The commentary to nos. 1-6 and 13

will show that their contents are for the most part traditional and found in older writers, but no single writer accounts for enough of MbK's material to qualify as one of MbK's main sources. It is suggestive, for example, of how traditional many phrases and themes in these homilies are, that they can very often be paralleled in the writings of Jacob of Serug, although only once (at 5.13:23) does an actual quotation of Jacob occur.[34]

It may be worthwhile to canvass the most likely candidates for MbK's main sources, if only to show how dark this area still is.

1. Jacob of Edessa. A figure of very great influence in the W. Syrian church in many departments of scholarship, Jacob was undoubtedly known to MbK, at least through his Hexaemeron which was the main source for MbK's own.[35] Jacob's exegetical work on the NT is to be found in various letters, of which two have some sort of literary relation to MbK's work; unfortunately in neither case is it completely clear whether MbK is using Jacob's letters directly.[36] Jacob seems to have written no formal commentaries on the NT,[37] and could not have furnished any large-scale source for the present homilies.

2. George, bishop of the Arabs.[38] MbK was familiar, directly or through intermediate sources, with at least some of George's work: the clearest evidence for this acquaintance is (1) MbK's commentary on the liturgy, which made use of George's earlier commentary,[39] (2) citations of George by DbṢ on the genealogies of Mt 1, undoubtedly mediated by MbK's commentary,[40] and (3) (possibly) use

made by MbK in his commentary on Lk of George's discussion of the old man Simeon.[41] ASSEMANI supposed that George himself was the author of a (lost) commentary on the Gospels,[42] but in this he was probably mistaken since there is neither any external evidence for a commentary nor any biblical exegesis preserved in his name beyond this discussion of Christ's ancestry and a comment on Lk 1.36 ("behold, Elizabeth your kinswoman").[43] Therefore there are, again, no grounds for supposing that any of the material in these homilies is to be traced, in any great amount, to George.

3. Philoxenus. The two scholars who have considered the problem of how the Jacobite commentators depended on one another, BAUMSTARK and BEYER, have given Philoxenus of Mabbug an important place in their stemmata. For BAUMSTARK[44] Philoxenus is the "Ausgangspunkt" for the last, post-Theodore, era of Syriac biblical exegesis. In trying to make out GB's list of sources on the damaged last folio of Vat.Syr. 154 he rather arbitrarily supplies Philoxenus's name to fill a lacuna.[45] BEYER meanwhile credits Philoxenus with transmitting Eusebius's Quaestiones via George to the later Syriac commentators. This conclusion may be justified, although the amount of demonstrable agreement between Eusebius and what is ascribed (by GB) to Philoxenus comes to only three lines.[46]

The present homilies, however, do not unambiguously support the view that Philoxenus's commentary had a far-reaching influence. It happens that remnants of this commentary survive on some parts of the infancy story - the memra on the annunciation to the Virgin,[47]

and three excerpts in catenas.[48] With the latter there are two points of contact with MbK: at 1.3:4ff. on the interpretation of Gn 49.10, and at 13.8:14ff. on the Phantasiasts. As my commentary ad locc. shows, the first of these is commonplace, and the latter is not apparently a case of literary dependence on Philoxenus. With the memra on the Annunciation MbK has no contact at all, either in no. 2 or no. 2*.

The peculiar character of Philoxenus's commentary is noted by DE HALLEUX (p. 131), who points out the

> caractère essentiellement dogmatique et polémique de l'oeuvre exégétique de notre auteur. Les éclaircissements littéraux et les applications parénétiques qu'on y rencontre sont incidentes; nous n'y avons pas davantage trouvé de référence aux autorités de l'exégèse patristique antérieure: Éphrem, Chrysostome, Cyrille d'Alexandrie. En revanche, le commentaire de Philoxène s'égare si volontiers et si longuement dans des considérations doctrinales que l'appellation de traité christologique lui conviendrait parfois mieux.

This makes it unlikely that it would have been exploited by commentators like MbK whose approaches to the Bible were straightforwardly allegorical or concerned to clear up problems in the text. The contrast in approach is particularly clear between Philoxenus and MbK's homily no. 2. It does not therefore seem that Philoxenus's commentary is a likely source for any of MbK's otherwise untraceable exegesis.

The pair of (unidentified) citations of Philoxenus at 2*.12:24ff. and .16:18ff. need to be explained in this case, but they need not overturn the conclusion just stated: see the commentary. One of Philoxenus's other works, on the Trinity and the Incarnation, is

used directly or indirectly by MbK in 2§v: see the commentary on 2.3:25-5:10.[49]

4. Severus. There is, again, plenty of evidence that MbK had access to many of the works of Severus. Besides certain instances of dependence already noticed by editors[50] these homilies afford a quotation (7.6:11-13) of Severus's Hymn 115, which need not have been already digested in MbK's source. I have, however, found at most one clear example of MbK quoting or following an argument in any of Severus's (surviving) letters or homilies, unless the paragraph on p. 6.10 is allowed as part of the original text of no. 6. In particular, it would not appear that MbK exploited Severus's Cathedral Homilies for the use of his own homilies. With the exception of the argument in 6§vi, the resemblance between their discussions is usually no more than their common preoccupations and churchmanship (and perhaps sources) would suggest.

5. Greek Fathers. The anonymous biography (see p. 9 above) lists a work by MbK on Gregory Nazianzen. This work has failed to materialize, and the notice in the biography has to be considered suspect. This is the more so because, apart from no. 5, the homilies ofter little or no evidence that MbK knew the works of any of the orthodox Fathers at first hand (i.e. in Syriac translations). In the cases where they are quoted, the evidence of GB usually shows that the exegesis in their names had already come into Syriac tradition before MbK. At 9.2:13-19 and at 2.2:13 (if this is a quotation at all) some other parallel evidence suggests the same

conclusion. At 13.3:19-21 the quotation seems to have been already misattributed. At 6.9:22-4 and 6.11:14f. MbK may be using Gregory Nazianzen directly, but here too (see on 6.11:10-15) other evidence from MbK indicates that he had not completely understood the quotation.

Homily no. 5 incorporates parts of Christmas sermons by Gregory and Chrysostom (see on 5.10:9-25, etc.). In this case, that of a (non-exegetical) festal homily, MbK's sources may well have been homiliaries containing these works. Certainly the quotations appear loosely assembled and undigested in a way that almost precludes an intermediate source, and they follow the wording of the Syriac translations closely. What is lacking is evidence that MbK put this material to any exegetical use.

6. Ephrem. Rendel HARRIS suggested that fragments of Ephrem's commentary on the Diatessaron could be recovered from the commentaries of IM, MbK, and DbṢ. He carried out his suggestion on IM and DbṢ[51] and the extant part of MbK's commentary on Mt, and evidently hoped to use MbK's homilies to take the result further.[52] He did not publish any subsequent results, however, and judging by the homilies here edited, the reason was no doubt the paucity of quotations of Ephrem to be found in them. (Of course now that a considerable part of Ephrem's commentary has been recoverd in the original Syriac, it can be used to illuminate MbK rather than the other way around.) In particular, it seems that Syriac tradition early lost the knowledge of Ephrem's commentaries:[53] in the present text there is apparently only one quotation of the commentary on the Diatessaron, at 1.1:24-2:6.

On the other hand, my commentary shows a number of echoes of exegetical traditions which go back to Ephrem (and sometimes beyond), but whose history in between Ephrem and MbK has to remain less than clear. Ephrem's hymns, meanwhile, were quarried for exegetical material; cf. their use at 7.6:10f., 2.3:10-15, and 13.2:1-4. There is finally a quotation of an obviously pseudonymous work in Ephrem's name at 6.9:25-.10:2.

Notes to 3.

1. "Evangelienexegese", 151ff. G. Wiessner now calls this the "scholastic" period.

2. "Découverte", 359. Cf. the same judgment in "Entdeckung", 133.

3. Littérature syriaque, 96.

4. BAKOŠ, 270f. He concludes that MbK has merely reorganized his few sources into neat chapters. A similar judgment comes from the latest editor of this work, L. SCHLIMME, "Synkretismus", 169.

5. "Gannat Bussame", 395f.

6. Two typical and parallel studies are DRIJVERS, ch. 4, esp. pp. 117-6, 08-9, and CLARKE.

7. BAUMSTARK, Gesch.80 and n.3. I have consulted MS Add. 12142 at several points.

8. Catalogus, ii.293. ASSEMANI does not state where they are found in the MS or whether they are in the same hand as the commentary. I cannot find them on the fols. (0-45) of which I have a microfilm.

9. Michael (478[ii.529]) ܗܘ ܕܡܦܫܩܢܘܬܐ ܕܥܠ ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܡܬܪܓܡ ܒܠܫܢ ܝܘܢܝܐ ܘܫܘܪܝܐ. Bar Hebraeus (Chron.eccl.i.327) has only the first four words. Both authors also mention that "he studied (ܐܬܠܦ) the Scriptures in the Greek and Syriac language" (p. 475, col. 321, resp.). VÖÖBUS (Kanonessammlungen, 11-12) accepts his authorship of the commentary; BAUMSTARK (Gesch.269-70, though not in "Evangelienexegese") seems to doubt it.

10. BAUMSTARK, "Evangelienexegese", has, however, listed the names or contents of the introductory chapters, and made an index to the authorities cited in the commentary. The MS has also been exploited for the recovery of some of GB's sources, by RYSSEL (pp. 140-1) for George bp. of the Arabs, BEYER (pp. 80-97) for Eusebius, and DE HALLEUX (pp. 140-1, 148) for Philoxenus.

11. It is of course possible that this one line of Ephrem's was known to MbK independently. For its currency, see the commentary on 7.5:14ff.

12. For the text of this letter, see the commentary on 7.1:2-8.

13. For this commentary, cf. p. 3 above and VÖÖBUS, "Découverte". Presently I have access only to MS Add. 17274, described by WRIGHT (Cat.ii.620), who does not overestimate the damage to its text.

14. In WRIGHT's description of Add. 17274 he states that fols. 26a-50b are part of a general introduction to MbK's commentary on the Gospels. Properly speaking, however, the introduction is part of the commentary on Mt (like the similar introductions of Isho'dad and DbṢ) and is strictly comparable with GB's. This is clear both from the fact that MbK's chs. 55, 69, 70 and 72 concern Mt in particular, and from the introduction to his commentary on Jn where he says (WRIGHT-COOK, 48):

> We have discussed and written before the common and general chapters which were suitably to be placed before the Gospel as a whole, in the commentary on the blessed Matthew.

15. For the names and subjects of the chapters in GB's introduction, cf. BAUMSTARK, "Evangelienexegese", 358-369. As he points out, chs. 20-43 are found on the misplaced fols. 215-218,261, which are not in my microfilm; I depend on his information for their titles. Chs. 1-19 and 44-46 are missing altogether.

16. BEYER, 92.

17. SCHLIMME, "Hexaemeronkommentar" seemingly too hastily calls GB the "Hauptquelle und unmittelbare literarische Vorlage" for MbK's commentary on Mt (pp. E13f.). He does not argue the case in the thesis.

18. "Barhebraeus' Scholion", 106.

19. IM: ܐ - ܕ (15-19). TbK: ii.68-73.

20. This conclusion appears on pp. 169-70.

21. Pp. 175-8.

22. For a unique question on Mt 2, see the commentary on 9.5:19f.

23. For the spectrum of forms in which these names are found, see the commentary on 7.1:25.

24. So very tentatively VOSTÉ, "Gannat Bussame", 226 and 229, but a date as late as the xiii cent. is not excluded. Cf. BAUMSTARK, Gesch.309. The terminus a quo is the time of IM, who is cited. The work is therefore unlikely to antedate the Book of Homilies and still less likely to have been used by MbK.

25. See the commentary on 8.3:21ff.; cf. also on 7.3:16ff. For disparaging remarks on the poem but a high valuation of the commentary, see BAUMSTARK, Gesch.330.

26. It is not usually clear in the GanB where a quotation introduced by an author's name should be taken to end. The terminus ad quem is the next such quotation, but this is often distant. I have generally allowed only the first sentence or closely-argued point after the name to count as quotation. Other passages would be included in the list if this rule were relaxed (see e.g. on 1.2:6ff.).

27. See CHABOT, "Jardin des délices", 493, and VOSTÉ, "Gannat Bussame", 227. He is also called Ṣeliba Zeka; cf. the commentary on 2.1:17f.

28. So CHABOT, 494 and BAUMSTARK, Gesch.232.

29. See note 31 below.

30. Greek fragments on Mt are collected by REUSS, 96-135. Very short fragments are printed in PG 66 and by LAGARDE, 107:12-29 and 108:19-24, and SACHAU, 69-70. MACOMBER's "newly discovered fragments" turn out to be texts incorporated into various Nestorian exegetical works either unstudied or unpublished.

According to SCHLIMME, "Hexaemeronkommentar", E11 n.1, the introduction to MbK's commentary on Jn derives from Chrysostom and Theodore. But whether this implies a direct dependence on Theodore is more than doubtful. MbK on Jn 3 comments that "Theodore the Nestorian" holds Christ to have been merely a man: it is scarcely believable that he could have had any direct knowledge of his work. Rather, this evidence further suggests MbK's dependence on some intermediate Nestorian source (the first possibility).

31. Two fragments were first printed (not very accurately) by HARRIS, Fragments of Ephrem, 93f., from MS Add. 17194. NAU, "Mar Aba", prints the same two plus one more "on the Gospel", and two on the OT. Most recently BECK, Nachträge (72-6 [98-104]), has also published a short fragment of a seven-syllable memra by Abba.

No scholar to my knowledge has allowed that the GanB citations of "Mar Abba" could go back to this figure. There are indeed three other possibilities: Mar Abba I the Katholikos (†552), Mar Abba of Kashkar (fl. 590-628), and Mar Abba II (also of Kashkar) the Katholikos (†751). At the most generous, VÖÖBUS (School of Nisibis, 165f.) believes that much of the GanB material can be attributed to a commentary of Mar Abba I mentioned by Abdisho'. CHABOT inclines to the conclusion that the citations and Abdisho''s notice refer to Mar Abba II. The prospective editor of the GanB, G.J. Reinink, tells me that he also rules out Mar Abba I. Nonetheless, the following might serve as an

example of a wider-ranging confusion: Isaac Eshbadnaya (see on 8.3:21ff.) gives the opinion that the Magi saw a vision of a woman and child inside the Christmas star, in the name of "Abba of Kashkar". But since this story appears in the Cave of Treasures (232 [203f.]), which is traditionally ascribed to Ephrem's disciples, might it once have been attributed to the earliest Abba?

32. JANSMA, "Hexaméron", 278.

33. "Newly Discovered Fragments", pass.

34. A further indication is the number of parallels to the Syrian Orthodox Fenqitho. I have not been able to use this work for the present thesis, and such references as I have had to it (with the exception at 5.12:4-5) have been for themes and expressions found also in more easily datable sources.

35. BAKOŠ, 271; SCHLIMME, "Synkretismus", 168f.

36. For the race and number of the Magi, see above, p.26 , and the commentary on 7.1:2-8.

37. VÖÖBUS, Kanonessammlungen, 210 n.67.

38. †724; BAUMSTARK, Gesch.257f.

39. CONNOLLY, 2.

40. See BEYER, 93.

41. For the discovery of this part of MbK's commentary and its relation to homily no. 14 and George's letter, see the Appendix.

42. B.O.i.494, ii.160.

43. This is RYSSEL's judgment, p. 228. Of the memre recently discovered by VÖÖBUS, "Giwargi", it will be interesting to see whether the one on Palm Sunday may be a source for MbK's no. 26.

44. "Evangelienexegese", 161f.

45. Ibid., 366f.: possibly rightly, though if the result above about MbK's and GB's common source is accepted, this will not necessarily mean GB used Philoxenus directly or extensively.

46. BEYER, 92-94. His conclusion regarding the filiation of Jacobite commentators as far as DbṢ (going by how Eusebius's Quaestiones were transmitted) is found on p. 94.

47. Ed. KRÜGER.

48. They are summarized by DE HALLEUX, 143f.

49. DE HALLEUX (pp. 134, 138) lists two quotations of Philoxenus by name from MbK's other works. The first of these was certainly known to MbK through an intermediate source, and the second may have been also.

50. E.g., by JANERAS and by STROTHMANN, 20f.

51. Fragments of Ephrem, 1895.

52. HARRIS, "Introduction", xxxi. He does not make it clear that his MS (= my MS H) is not simply a commentary on the Gospels.

53. Even by the time of Jacob of Serug: JANSMA, "Hexaméron", 259.

4. The Text

a. The manuscripts

This edition uses seven MSS:[1]

C = Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 2918
H = Harvard College Library, MS Syr. 41
L = British Museum, MS Add. 21210
M = Selly Oak Colleges Library, Birmingham, MS Mingana Syr. 112
P = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS syr. 206
R = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS syr. 207
Z = Mardin (Turkey), MS Orthodox A.

C is described by WRIGHT-COOK, Catalogue, ii.800-10. It is written by the same hand throughout, the scribe being one ʿĪsā bar Masʿūd. His colophon, which is printed in the catalogue, p. 808, dates the MS to Tammuz, A.Gr. 1529 = AD 1218.[2] The writing is in one column with 17-20 lines per page. Fol. 8 belongs after fol. 12.

H appears in TITTERTON's typescript catalogue (pp. 55-62 including a loose unnumbered page) as MS Harris 29 = Semitic Museum 3967.[3] The MS is 8½ x 6½ ins. in size and contains 249 folios. Except for short sections (not including any of the present homilies) at the beginning and end of the volume, it is written in a small, neat W. Syrian hand, c. 25 lines per page. The colophon (in this hand, fol. 244b) tells us that the MS was written in A.Gr. 2121 = AD 1809/10 by one Denḥona in the monastery of the Cross called Bethel:[4]

ܬܬܚ ܫܡܫܐ ܫܒܥܐ ܕܨܘܡ ܪܒܐ . ܠܗ ܠܐ ܣܒܪܐ ܫܒܥܐ ܕܫܒܥ ܫܒܝ̈ܥ̈ܐ
ܕܛܒܐ ܫܒܥ ܫܒܥ ܫܒܥ ܫܒܥ . ܫܒܥ ܫܒܥ ܫܒܥ ܫܒܥ ܫܒܥ ܫܒܥ ܫܒܥ
ܫܒܥ ܫܒܥ ܫܒܥ ܫܒܥ ܫܒܥ ܫܒܥ ܫܒܥ ܫܒܥ ܫܒܥ ܫܒܥ ܫܒܥ ܫܒܥ .

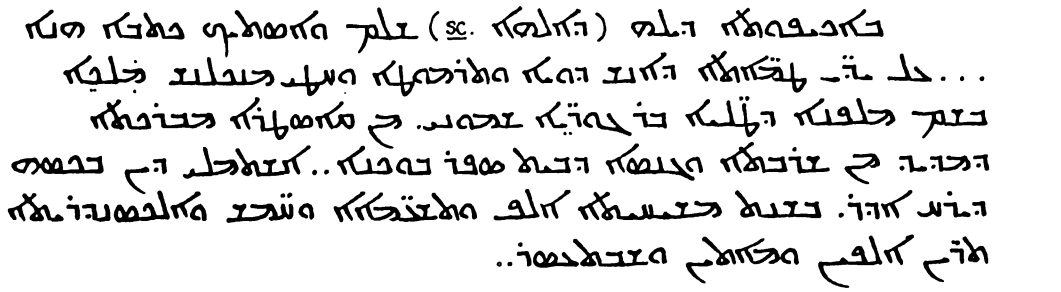
The main part of the MS contains, besides the collection of MbK's

homilies (fols. 11a-230a), the introduction to his commentary on Jn (3b-9b),[5] and various, mostly anonymous, short sections (9b-11a, 228a-244b). The MS was acquired from Rendel Harris, whose bookplate is still inside the front cover.

L is described by WRIGHT, Catalogue, ii.876-82 (no. DCCCXLI). This MS has a complicated history: at least three hands are evident in its original production, and subsequent readers have filled up blank spaces on many pages as well as many margins. The subscription on fol. 197a, however, certainly applies to the homilies, and dates the copying of the MS to A.Gr. 1553 = AD 1242. A subscription on fol. 199a adds the place of writing, the Jacobite cathedral church of Mar Thomas the Apostle in Mosul. As a note on a front flyleaf states, the MS was "Purchased of Mar Athanasius Stephanos Metropolitan of the Syrian Coast of Malabar 12 Jan^{ry} 1856".[6] Regrettably the outside edges of some folios have been worn by hard use, and many words have faded or been rubbed away in these places. Even more regrettably, a number of these words have been written over in an inelegant hand by someone (shown in my apparatus as L^{a}) whose guesses as to the original text were often wrong or nonsensical. Fol. 1b is filled up tightly by a different hand and has probably replaced both sides of a lost folio at the front of the volume.

M has a summary description in MINGANA's catalogue, cols. 271-3. The MS was written by a single copyist throughout, whose name Malke b. Gawrie Shmuni appears in occasional subscriptions and in a somewhat inflated colophon occupying fol. 209b. The date is March, 1905.[7]

The MS was written in Midyat in Tur ʿAbdin, Turkey. The informative part of the colophon reads:



P is described by ZOTENBERG, 156-9. It measures 28½ x 19 cm; the main part of the MS is written in a bold and clear serto hand in two columns, with 27-30 lines per page. The quires of 10 fols. each are signed with letters from ܒ to ܟ. As ZOTENBERG states, fol. 17 belongs after fol. 27, and two quires are missing (probably containing some other treatises by MbK) after fol. 146. There are occasional West Syrian vowels in the text, and guššayâ and rukkakâ are indicated in red. On fol. 287b is the date A.Gr. 1864-6 = AD 1542-5. The text has been corrected, mostly, as it seems, by the same hand, in the margins and between lines.

R is also described by ZOTENBERG, 159-60. It measures 18 x 13½ cm, and is written in a bold but very cursive serto hand in one column, with 20-23 lines per page. The quires, numbered ܒ - ܝܒ, consist of 20 folios each; apparently quire ܟ of the original MS was lost, and the beginning (fols. 1-26) recopied by the same scribe. The end of the MS, after quire ܝܒ, is also missing, along with any colophon. ZOTENBERG plausibly dates the MS palaeographically to the xv century.

Z is described by VÖÖBUS in "Liturgical Commentaries", 493, and

"Liturgiegeschichtliches Schrifttum", 73. He has kindly furnished me with a xerographic copy, made from his own microfilm, of the table of contents and first 72 pages of the text. These pages include the homilies edited here as far as 13.6:17. The pages are numbered with Syriac letters, and these numbers in the table of contents furnish the information in Table III. I have not seen the colophon, but VÖÖBUS states:

> It was copied in 1956 A.D. from an ancient exemplar written by Menḥa [sic?], a monk of the village of Ḥasḥas, who in turn used for his exemplar an ancient manuscript in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn.

In addition to these seven MSS, mention should be made of a hitherto unnoticed MS, Manchester Rylands Syr. 46. This is a curious MS of only six folios acquired by Mingana probably in the 1920's. It measures 8 x 5½ ins., and is written in a neat modern serto hand with 19-20 lines per page. It contains lemmas and incipits of a few lines in length for a collection mostly of homilies by MbK. This collection partly corresponds in content to MS H, and, though not usable in the edition of the text, is of some textual value (see the discussion in section b below).

Further Syriac MSS for the homilies edited here do exist in the Middle East. Some have been brought to light by VÖÖBUS and some were known before, but unfortunately none were accessible to me for this edition. It must suffice to list and describe them here. The unused MSS are as follows.

a. MS Sharfeh 4/2 is described by ARMALEṬ, 76-9, and mentioned in his introduction (p.13) as one of the most important MSS in the library of the Syrian Catholic Patriarchate. The colophon,

printed on pp. 78f., dates the MS to 17 Ḥaziran A.Gr. 1775 = AD 1464. ARMALET lists the titles of MbK's homilies which appear, and these give a basis for listing the MS ("S") with the other seven in Table III below.

b. MS Damascus Patriarchate 4/10 appears in BEHNAM's checklist of the library, p. 134, and is described briefly by VÖÖBUS, "Liturgiegeschichtliches Schrifttum", 74. It was copied by the monk (later metropolitan) Joḥannan Dolabani in 1911 from an ancient exemplar in Tur ʿAbdin. According to VÖÖBUS its contents correspond in some measure to those of MS H.

c. MS Damascus Patriarchate 4/11 (BEHNAM and VÖÖBUS, locc.cit.) is the work of the same scribe in the same year, and again it is an apograph of an old MS in Tur ʿAbdin. VÖÖBUS says that the contents are those of MS Z but in a slightly differing order.

d. MS Damascus Patriarchate 4/12 (BEHNAM, loc. cit., VÖÖBUS, art. cit., 73f.) was also copied by Dolabani in 1911. It includes 27 treatises, of which most are apparently homilies of MbK. Another treatise in the MS, by George (bp. of the Arabs) on the OT patriarchs is probably the same as in MS H, fol. 240a, but VÖÖBUS's information about the remaining treatises places it apart from all the other MSS.

e. A MS in a private collection in Istanbul is listed by VÖÖBUS, art. cit., 74. He describes it as a modern folio volume containing 87 treatises, of which many are homilies of MbK.

The following Syriac MSS appear to contain homilies of MbK only other than those in the present edition.

f. MS Jerusalem St. Mark 153 appears from VÖÖBUS's notice (art. cit., 73) to contain nos. 11, 27, 32, and 36.

g. MS Mingana Syr. 2 (Catalogue, col. 4) contains nos. 31, 32, and 36.

h. MS Vat.Syr. 147 (No. VII, Catalogus, iii.276) contains no. 31.

i. According to SCHER, "Manuscrits du Musée Borgia", 263f., MS Vat.Borg. 57, a Jacobite "pontifical" written in Rome in 1686, contains (9°) a tûrgamâ of MbK.

A complete inventory of materials for the text of the homilies would also have to include MSS in Arabic. GRAF, Geschichte, ii.230, gives a list of homilies attributed to MbK in Karshuni MSS. They appear from his titles to be nos. 1, 2, 17, 18, 19, and 27. He also lists (p. 231) a few other Arabic MSS which appear to contain homilies of MbK. The earliest of any of these MSS comes from the xvii century.

Table III on the next page shows how the collection of MbK's homilies appears in the seven collated MSS and S.[8] All the MSS in fact contain additional treatises of MbK, but since these are different in each case and occur in different places in the MSS, they have been omitted in the cause of simplicity and ease of reference. All the homilies for particular occasions in the liturgical calendar are included, whether or not explicitly attributed to MbK; cf. notes f and i to the table. Omitted, however, are:

1. the treatise on the consecration of the chrism (i.e. for Maundy Thursday), which, to judge from its form and textual history, is an entirely independent work;
2. a biography of MbK, which although in all but one of the MSS, appears in different places and was evidently not part of the original collection (see note j to the table);
3. the short sections in HLMZ shown in note k to the table, which in L are in a later hand and fill up originally blank spaces in the MS;

		C	R	S	P	H	L	M	Z	Notes
0.	Dedication of the Church					11a				a
1.	Annunciation to Zechariah	7b	1b	*	8b1	12b	1b	1b	1	b
2. 2*.	Annunciation to Mary	16b	c	c	14a2	18a	7a	7a	10	b
3.	Visit of Mary to Elizabeth	19b	34a	*	16b1	26b	9a	9b	13	
4.	Birth of John the Baptist	21b	38a	*	18b1		10a	10b	15	
5.	Festival of the birth of Our Lord	27a		*	22a2	28a	14a	14b	21	
6.	Eighteen chapters on the birth of Our Lord	34a	42b	*	26a1	33a	18b	19a	29	d
7.	Coming of the Magi	42a	49a	*	30b1		24a	24b	37	
8.	The star	47b	54a	e	33b1		26b	28a	42	f
9.	Killing of the babes	62b	59a	*	36b2	203b	30a	31b	48	
10.	The praise of the Virgin					39a				
11.	Festival of Epiphany	67b	63b	*	40a1	41a	33a	35a	53	g
12.	John the Baptist					49b				
13.	Circumcision of Our Lord	80a	73b	*	47b2	53a	42b	44b	68	
14.	The old man Simeon		c	h		206b	48b	50a	76	i
15.	Christ and Jonah, for the Rogation of Ninevah					207b	49b	51a	78	i
16.	Sunday					208a	50a	51b	79	i
17.	Temptation of Our Lord	88a	248a	*	53a1	209a	51a	52b	80	b j k
18.	Lent	92a	252a	h	55a2	59a	54b	55b	86	b l
19.	The Leper (of Mk 1.40-45)	102a	96a	*	61a2	212a	61a	63b	99	b k
20.	The woman with the issue of blood	104b	98a	*	63a1	214a	63a	66a	102	f
21.	"Let the dead bury their dead."(Mt 8.22)	105a	98b	*	63a2	214b	63a	66b	103	
22.	The widow's son	107a	100a	*	64b2					
23.	He who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho	108b	101b	*	65b2					
24.	The forty martyrs of Sebaste					66b				
25.	The story of (the raising of) Lazarus	115a	106b	*	69b1	216a	65a	68a	105	
26.	Palm Sunday	120a	110b	*	72a2	69b	67b	70b	110	m
27.	Festival of the Resurrection	162a	182a	*	81a2	149a	77a	107b	174	b g
28.	The confessors who rose on Friday	178a	194b	*	89b2	160a	88a	117b	189	
29.	New Sunday	183a	198a	*	92b1	162b	91b	118a	193	
30.	"I go to my Father and to your Father."(Jn 20.17)	190a			96a2					
31.	Festival of the Ascension	196a	203a	*	99b1	165b	96b	121b	200	g
32.	Festival of Pentecost	202b	207b	*	103a1	168a	100a	124b	205	g
33.	On the reading from Acts (2.1-21) for Pentecost					173b	106b	130a	n	
34.	Festival of the Transfiguration of Our Lord					178a	112b	134b	223	
35.	Decease of the Virgin					180b	116a	137a	227	i
36.	Festival of the Cross	213b	216a	*		182a	118a	138b	230	g k

Table III: Contents of the Book of Homilies

Notes to Table III

a. The reader is asked to excuse the numeration starting with zero. In the first version of the thesis this homily was not included in the table, and I have not considered a more elegant numeration to be worth the trouble of changing all the page numbers in the edited text and references elsewhere.

b. Also in Arabic. See above.

c. Replaced by the treatise of Isho' of Melitene on the same subject.

d. Repeated in C, fols. 53a-62a.

e. Not listed as present by ARMALET, but probably in the MS nonetheless, following the previous no. without a break.

f. Anonymous in MSS including C but not L.

g. Additional MSS in Syriac. See above.

h. Probably the homily on the same subject by Isho' of Melitene, though not listed as such by ARMALET.

i. Anonymous.

j. Followed in HLMZ by the life of MbK. This position in the collection doubtless corresponds to the date of MbK's death, given precisely in the life as 12 February. The text is the one printed by ASSEMANI, B.O.ii.218f. The references here are: L fol. 54a, M 55a, Z 85, H 211b. A life of MbK is also contained in C, fol. 272b; in R, fol. B verso before fol. 1; and in S, fol. 153. For other MSS, see VÖÖBUS, Kanonessammlungen, 229 n.15. In MS Mingana Syr. 65 fol. 99b it is called "On the temptation of Our Lord by Satan, the chapter showing the story of the history of Moše bar Kepha"; this text is therefore dependent on L or a close relation.

k. Followed by an additional short section in HLMZ (after nos. 17, 19, 36 resp.):

	H	L	M	Z
The wood of the cross	211a	53b	54b	84
Melchizedek	213b	62b	65b	101
The brazen censer, by John b. Ganavai	192a	132b	148b	248

l. Displaced in R in the main sequence by the homily of Isho' of Melitene (as in S).

m. Followed by various treatises (for Holy Week) in all MSS except L and P. In CHRS these include the consecration of the chrism by MbK.

n. An illegible page reference in my copy of the table of contents.

4. the seven treatises on various festivals by Isho‘ of Melitene,[9] which appear (sometimes anonymously) in various places in all the known MSS except C and occasionally displace homilies of MbK (see note c to the table).

The titles of the homilies given in the table are abbreviated from what is common to the titles in the MSS. The homilies are located by folio in C R H L M, by folio and column in P, and by page in Z. For S, * indicates that a homily is present.

b. Filiation of the MSS

A simple stemma incorporating all seven MSS is not to be attained, even when the text is limited to the twelve homilies here edited. It will be useful, however, first to take a stemmatic analysis as far as it will go. Three results emerge.

1. R is a descendant of C. This conclusion is demonstrated by the fact that the contents of fol. 8 of C, which is out of order, are found in R in their dislocated position. R (or an ancestor) was therefore copied from C, and that after this leaf had come out and been wrongly replaced. It is true that fols. 1-26 of R do not seem to be of a piece with the earliest form of the MS (see the description above), but its dependence appears to hold throughout the nos. 1-13 that I have collated: there are no significant agreements of R with other MSS against C. I suspect that the textual character of R changes towards the end of the MS, outside the material in Table III, though this hypothesis does not affect the present edition. The absence of homily no. 30 in R in agreement with L is probably a coincidence.

MS S is also clearly in a close relation to R in its replacement of no. 2 (and probably also 14 and 18) by a treatise of Isho‘ of Melitene; exactly what this relation is, is impossible to say without more available information about S, but it is in any case most unlikely that S offers a text independent of C's.

2. M and Z are independent descendants of a MS copied from L. The proof of this proposition, assuming for the moment a closed textual process, turns out to follow from Table III and chronological considerations alone.

Table III suffices to show a close relationship among L M Z on the basis of content and order. The correspondence extends in fact beyond what the table shows: M and Z contain only material found in L, and in the same order except that three treatises by Isho‘ of Melitene dealing with Holy Week which are at the end of MS L (WRIGHT, Cat.ii.880, nos. 4, 5, 6) have been transferred ad loc. before no. 27 in M and Z. To be further noticed is that the short sections in note k to Table III are not prima manu in L, but appear as integral parts of the text in MZ. The conclusion follows that L is the ultimate hyparchetype of M and Z.[10]

Now neither Z nor M is a copy of the other. M is the older MS (AD 1905), so M < Z is impossible; M likewise does not match the description in the colophon of Z about its exemplar and was in any case in Birmingham when Z was copied, so Z < M is excluded. M and Z therefore have a common ancestor derived from L, and this ancestor may well have been Z's exemplar, the MS written by Menḥa. This ancestor

appears as μ in the stemmata in Table V on p. 79. In fact, marginal notes in L seem to locate the MS in Tur ʿAbdin in the xvii and xviii centuries[11] - where very probably Stephanos found it to take to London. Therefore, no violence is done to the evidence by proceeding to identify Menḥa's own exemplar with MS L, although intermediate ancestors cannot of course be ruled out.

This stemmatic result for MSS L M Z is secured by a collation of the three MSS. Since the readings of MZ are not normally given in the apparatus to the text, they are set out against L for one homily (no. 9) in Table IV on the next page. From the unshared corruptions in M (e.g. at 9.5:15) and in Z (e.g. at 9.7:1) it is clear that the two MSS are independent of each other. Likewise the occasional readings where MZ agree against L (e.g. at 9.2:2) are to be ascribed to MS μ. Nothing in the table points to any reading of value independent of L.

It is finally perhaps of some interest to notice from Table IV that the deterioration of the text between L and MZ has to be largely blamed on the more recent scribes. The comparative rarity of agreements of MZ against L shows that MS μ must have been a production of quite high quality. An early date for μ is also suggested by the readings at 9.1:14,15,17; 3:6; 4:3; 6:7; 7:16 in which its readings are those of L* and not L^a.[12]

3. C and P derive from a common hyparchetype independent of L.[13] First, to see that C and P do not derive from L it is only necessary to look at the fairly large number of errors in L but not C or P (e.g. due to homoioteleuton at 2.1 n.5-5, 4.6 n.2-2, 13.1 n.12-12).

1:6 ויתנצלו LM] ויתצלו Z 9

7 ויתעצבו LM] +sey Z 11

9 והתרפאת LZ] ורפא M

ולך LZ] > M 12

10 ותעלה L] +ה MZ 13

13 והתרפאת LZ] ורפה M 14

לה L^vid] > MZ 20

14 אשר לך L^a] אשרתי MZ (=CP)

15 לך L^a] לך אשרי MZ (=CP) 4:1

17 ולך 2° L^a] ולכי MZ (=CP) 2

לך L] > MZ 3

2:2 ושבעה L] > MZ 4

4 ויתנוצצו ויבהלו.ויתעצבו LZ] > M 5

ויתעצבו LZ] ויתעצב M 6

6 ויתן LZ] > M 7

6f. ויתן ...לכם LM] > Z

8 ויתעצב LM] +sey Z 13

ויתנוצצו 2° LM] > Z 14

ויחיה LM] + ויתן Z 16

9 ויתעצב LM] + cop Z 18

10 ויתעצבו LZ] ויתעצב M

12 יכול LM] > Z 5:3

13 ויבהל LM] ויבהל Z 5

15 והתרפאת LZ] ו M 10

19f ויתעצב...ויבהל LM] > Z 11

14

3:1 ויתעצב וירא ה... ויחי ויבהל LM] two clauses transposed Z 15

ויבך LZ] > M 16

ויתנוצץ LM] ויתן Z 18

2 וירא ה' LM] ויבך Z

ויחי 2° L] ולך M > Z

4 ויתן ויתעצב לבם L] ויתעצב ויתן MZ 6:1

6 ויבהל L^a] ויעצב MZ (=CP) 2

3 ܕܫܡܝܐ LM] > Z

7 ܕܒܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܠ L] ܕܒܪ ܐܝܟ MZ

ܕܠ ܒܪ L^{a}] ܕܠ ܒܪ MZ (=CP)

10 ܕ LM] ܕܐܝܟ Z

ܒܪ LM] ܕ Z

11 ܕܟܝ LM] ܕܟ Z

15 ܐܝܟ 1° LZ] +cop M

ܕܐ ... ܕܐܠܦ LM] > Z

7:1 ܒܫܢ ܫܒܥ LM] > Z

3 ܕܫܡܫ LM] ܕܫܡܫ Z

7 ܕܥܒܕ LM] +ܗ Z

8 ܕܫܡܝܐ LM] ܕܫܡܝܐ Z

14 ܕܫܡܫ LM] ܫܡܫ Z

15 ܕܫܡܫ L^{a}] ܫܡܫ MZ (=CP)

16 ܠܟ LM] ܟ Z

8:6 ܗ- LZ] M

ܕܫܡܫ ... ܕܫܡܫ L M] ܕܫܡܫ ܕܫܡܫ Z

ܕܫܡܫ ÷ ܕܫܡܫ ܕܫܡܫ ÷

ܫܡܫ L] ܫܡܫ MZ

ܫܡܫ LZ] ܫܡܫ M

ܫܡܫ LM] ܫܡܫ Z

ܗ- L] ܗ- MZ

ܫܡܫ LM] ܫܡܫ Z

ܫ LZ] ܫ M

ܫܡܫ L] ܫܡܫ MZ

ܫܡܫ ... ܫܡܫ LM] ܫܡܫ Z

ܫܡܫ LM] ܫܡܫ Z

ܫ L^{a}] ܫ MZ

ܫܡܫ LM] ܫܡܫ Z

ܫ L] ܫ MZ

ܫ LM] ܫ Z

ܫ LM] ܫ Z

ܫ LZ] ܫ M

ܫ LM] ܫ Z

ܫ LM] ܫ Z

ܫ LZ] ܫ M

ܫ LM] ܫ Z

ܫ LM] ܫ Z

ܫ LZ] ܫ M

ܫ LM] ܫ Z

ܫ L] ܫ MZ

ܫ LM] > Z

ܫ L] -sey MZ

ܫ LM] > Z

Variants of MSS M Z against L in no. 9

Second, it is clear that P does not derive from C - the opposite is impossible on chronological grounds - from the occasional places where C goes astray and is not followed by P (e.g. at 4.5 n.1, 7.4 n.3, 8.5 n.6). The proposition above will then follow if we can exhibit any readings of secondary origin that are common to C and P but not shared by L. (If there should be no such readings, the probable conclusion would be that C P L derive entirely independently from the archetype.) Such errors are in fact rare and hard to demonstrate: in most of the cases where CP appear in the apparatus against L in the text of the homilies, either (a) internal criteria do not suffice to decide between the two readings (e.g. at 8.1 n.9-9, 9.4 n.1-1), or (b) CP's reading is the kind of lectio difficilior (e.g. at 1.6 n.1, 4.5 n.11, 13.5 n.4) that might represent a fault in the archetype corrected by the scribe of L. However, there are at least three residual cases in the homilies here edited where it seems beyond doubt that L has the original reading over against CP, viz. at 1.10 n.6, 7.2 n.4, and 13.10 n.8. If these are granted for the moment, then the conclusion follows; further support for the existence of a hyparchetype of CP will be forthcoming from the discussion of MS H below.

In Table V on p.79, stemma (i) is the basic stemma applying to all the edited homilies which has emerged from the argument so far. In the table and elsewhere, the hyparchetype of CP is called α. This MS must have been a production of relatively high quality, if we are to judge from the general superiority of the text of CP to that of L.

For example, in the list of the names of the Magi in 7.2:1-5 there are six variant readings, in five of which CP's text is to be preferred to that of L.

Now problems arise in dealing with MS H and with the double text of homily no. 6 in C (see note d to Table III). The problems are not those of contamination proper, i.e. within individual homilies, but of relationships among the MSS which vary from one homily to another. The object of this analysis will therefore be to arrive at a set of stemmata incorporating stemma (i) already arrived at, and try to assign each homily to one of them.

MS H appears to display three different types of text.

1. A study of the apparatus of no. 9 shows that in this homily (alone with no. 14 among those here edited) H never agrees with CP against L, and even in some places depends on L^a (e.g. at 9.1 n.9). Here, therefore, H simply derives from L and is of no independent value. Table III suggests an explanation: to be noticed is that most of the treatises in the middle of the collection (nos. 9, 14-17, 19-21, 25) are found in H later on in the MS, after no. 36 as a kind of second pass through the liturgical year. Also in this second cycle are the three extra texts listed in note k to Table III. This state of affairs suggests that H (or an ancestor) had at least two exemplars, of which one derived from L. The scribe used this one last and simply copied out from it at the end of the collection those numbers which he had not already copied from his other(s).[14] It is geographically and chronologically possible that this exemplar was L itself; it

was certainly not μ since H follows L^a in some places where μ has the text of L^*.

MS Rylands Syr. 46 seems to confirm the inference of two exemplars. The contents of the MS from which this MS was excerpted would have included (in order) homilies nos. 2*, 3, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 18, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 36, followed by two treatises found otherwise in CP but not H or L. The affinity of this MS with the early part of H is clear from its contents (and is confirmed by its agreement with H in the texts of the lemmas), but the scribe shows no sign of knowing any of the nos. in L but not CP. The Manchester MS therefore presupposes another MS having the peculiar text and contents of H but representing an earlier text before the intrusion into H of the material deriving from L. It is furthermore a reasonable conjecture that MS Damascus Patriarchate 4/10 might display this same text. If its exemplar was in fact "ancient", then it probably antedated the readings of L^a and <u>a fortiori</u> the two-cycle text of H. (In view of what follows about the text-critical value of H, it will be clear that this MS is one which will need to be used in any future edition of MbK's homilies.)

Now external evidence of the kind just adduced is lacking for the more interesting part of MS H, fols. 11a-160a, in which the MS is independent of L. This part includes nos. 1, 3, 5, 6, and 13 of the present edition. Even here, however, the text is not homogeneous, being apparently of a different quality in nos. 1 and 5 from that in nos. 6 and 13.

2. In nos. 1 and 5 the conclusion is hard to resist that H occasionally offers the correct text over against all the other MSS. The clearest examples are at 1.7 nn.2-2,3-3; 1.8 n.5-5; and 5.1 n.8-8: in these cases H has preserved lines that have dropped out (usually by homoioteleuton) in all the other MSS. In these homilies the resultant stemma is (iii) in Table V on p. 79.

3. In nos. 6 and 13 H lines up differently yet again. In no. 13, for example, we have to accept the readings of L against CHP at (among other places) 13.2 n.3-3; 3 nn.5-5,11; 5 n.4; 10 nn.8,9; and 12 n.2. Some, but hardly all, of these, could be corrections by L of errors in the archetype X. Therefore H must for this homily be grouped with CP as a descendant of α. There are not really enough variant readings in no. 13 to be sure how H is related to C and P, but probably it derives neither from C (see 13.2 n.7) nor P (see 13.5 nn.1,2) but directly from α. This is the filiation shown in stemma (iv a) in Table V.

Homily no. 6, finally, contains some curious textual variation, which is complicated by the double text of C. (The complication is discussed below; meanwhile we use the sigla C_1 and C_2 resp. for the first and second appearances of the homily in C.) In this number, a glance at the apparatus shows that H is to be grouped with C_2P over against C_1L. It is of course most reasonable that H here should stand in the same relationship to C_2P as it does to CP in no. 13, viz. as a co-descendant of α, and this does appear to be the case. It can be seen generally from the fact that C_2 H P all display unshared

errors, and no one of them agrees significantly with C_1L against the other two. Putative exceptions are: (a) the readings of 6.7 nn.2,6; (b) the extra pluses of C_2H in the long readings on p. 6.10; and (c) the text of 6.4 n.8 = 6.5 n.17. In the case of (a), P's agreements with C_1L may well be coincidental. In (b), it seems most likely that these readings of C_2H were marginal notes in α dropped by the scribe of P.[15] The case of (c) is the one remaining difficulty: here H gives the short remark on honey and jaundice in a different place from all the other MSS. Now this comment is equally inapposite in both places and cannot be original. Suppose instead that it was a marginal note in X that was copied into the text of C_1 and L and into the margin of α. From α it was copied, not surprisingly, into the same place in C_2 and H as in C_1L, but in H into a different place about half a page earlier. This explanation is certainly not compelling, but the alternative, that H has the kind of independent value here that it possesses in nos. 1 and 5, has no evidence but this reading to support it.

To complete the discussion of MS H it remains to mention the most notable characteristic of its text, the number of long and unique pluses. Table III shows five entire homilies peculiar to H (nos. 0, 2*, 10, 12, 24), of which no. 2* is here edited. On a smaller scale, four of the edited homilies contain pluses in H:

a. no. 1 : the text on pp. 1.14-16
b. no. 5 : the text on pp. 5.3-6
c. no. 6 : two extra chapters at the end
d. no. 13 : an extract from "the commentary on Luke".

In the case of the extra homilies, the evidence so far discussed for the history of the text of the collection gives some, but not much,

help in evaluating them. MS H, as has been shown, does not always witness to an earlier point in this textual history than the other MSS, though it does sometimes. If MS Rylands Syr. 46 indeed presupposes a MS independent of H, then nos. 2*, 10, and 12 gain attestation, while nos. 0 and 24 do not. Beyond this point, these homilies have to be judged on internal grounds. The material in nos. 1, 5, 6, and 13, finally, is variously dealt with in this edition. In no. 1 it cannot be original in spite of H's value in this homily. But since it is a curious and unidentified text I have given it in smaller writing as a long footnote. The text in no. 5 is likewise treated. The logical connections in this homily are not strong enough to be sure what may belong to it and what not, but H's long section, mostly on the Annunciation instead of the Nativity, is likely to be an intrusion. In no. 6, called "Eighteen chapters...", the two unnumbered chapters after ch. 18 must be secondary. In this case most of the text is a garbled form of what is otherwise in DbṢ and elsewhere (see the commentary to 6.13:6), and I have therefore not thought it necessary to reproduce it. Similar reasoning lies behind my omission of the plus in no. 13; see for this the Appendix, p. 365.

The last textual problem is that caused by the repetition of homily no. 6 in MS C. The second occurrence of this text in C is not quite what WRIGHT-COOK make it (p. 801), "a stupid repetition" of the first. Instead, it appears that the scribe of C copied the homily from two different exemplars: many of the variant readings between C_1 and C_2 can only be explained in this way, and not as errors or as

differences produced by first omitting and then copying the marginal notes in a single exemplar. This is a strange proceeding, and it is also strange that C_1 rather than C_2 should have been copied from the different exemplar. Nonetheless, it is C_2 which shows the characteristic affinity of C with P, and C_1 which often agrees with L against it. Now it is noteworthy that in this homily the text of α never needs to be read against C_1L.[16] This means that either α C_1 L are independent descendants of X, or else (since C_1 does not occur significantly in the apparatus alone) α and C_1 are such and $L < C_1$. The first is to all appearances much the more probable, and is set out in stemma (iv b) in Table V.

The set of stemmata resulting from this analysis is found in Table V on the next page. All the presently edited homilies are assigned to one of the set, except no. 3 which (although the basic stemma (i) applies to it) gives no grounds for deciding between (iii) and (iv a). It is to be hoped that collations of further homilies, if not the use of further MSS such as Damascus Patriarchate 4/10, may help to show why H oscillates between its positions in (iii) and (iv). Meanwhile the table provides a working explanation of the filiation of the MSS in the edited homilies.

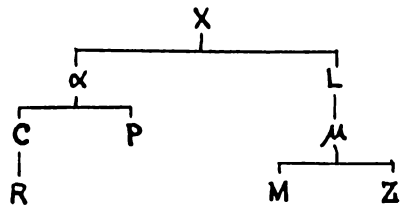
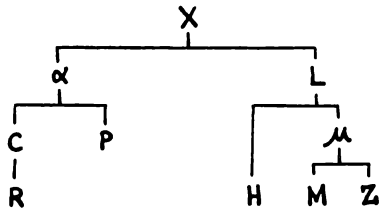
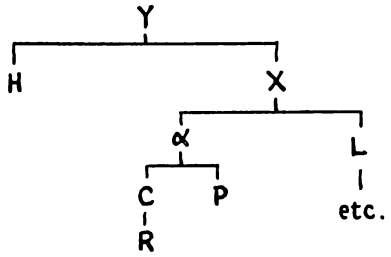
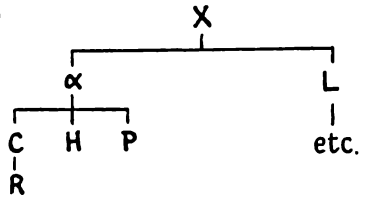
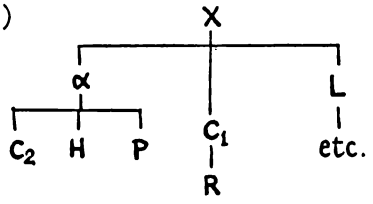
Stemma:	Applies to:
(i) 	all the edited homilies; specifically nos. 2, 4, 7, 8
(ii) 	nos. 9, 14
(iii) 	nos. 1, 5
(iv a) 	no. 13
(iv b) 	no. 6

Table V: Filiation of the MSS

Notes to 4.

1. The sigla L P R are those of STROTHMANN. He does not mention C, M, or H, even though they contain the treatise on the consecration of the chrism, possibly because he did not search for MSS further than BAUMSTARK's list on p. 282 n.6 (which overlooked C at least).

2. The Maphrian at the time was Ignatius III, not II as the catalogue states.

3. It also appears imprecisely in CLEMONS's "Checklist", 238, as "Moses bar Kepha: Commentaries, including John".

4. On this monastery, 7 mi. N of Ḥaḥ and 20 mi. NE of Midyat in Tur 'Abdin, see esp. KRÜGER, "Mönchtum", 34f. According to the life of Mar Aḥa quoted by him, Aḥa (†556) did not build the monastery, as stated here, but merely renamed it the Monastery of the Cross. Dr. Brock tells me that Barsum gives the name "Monastery of the Cross of Bethel" for this place, but I know no other reference to the name Bethel. Perhaps it may have been its name before Aḥa's gift to it of a piece of the cross.

5. Not extracts from it, as claimed by VÖÖBUS, Kanonessammlungen, 232 n.25. He corrects himself in "Liturgiegeschichtliches Schrifttum", 72.

6. Mar Stephanos was a bishop deputed by the Patriarch about 1850 to intervene in a schism in the Malabar church which had gone on since 1843. His intervention took the form of a claim for himself to the metropolitan see, but this was overturned finally in 1852-3 by the governments involved. Thereupon Stephanos "went to Calcutta and to London seeking more favourable treatment, but did not succeed, and on his return to Mardin was apparently removed from his office by the Patriarch" (BROWN, 143). The trip to London was doubtless the occasion of the sale of MS L. For this controversy, cf. TISSERANT, 149, and BROWN, 142-3, whose accounts differ somewhat.

7. The scribe also writes the date here as A.Gr. 2217, which would be 1906, but in a half-way subscription on fol. 117b the year is again given as 1905 AD.

8. This table is designed to supersede the list of BRAUN, 12-14, who did not know of C, H, M, S, or Z, and had only the sometimes misleading notices of the earlier MS catalogues to go by.

9. I.e., on the Annunciation, the Nativity, the presentation in the temple, Lent, Maundy Thursday, the footwashing, and Good Friday. This author, uninformatively mentioned by BAUMSTARK, Gesch.283, is to be identified with Joshua Sephtana ("the lippy"), who became a schismatic Patriarch under the name Michael II (BAUMSTARK, 302), and died in 1214/5. Confusion about this identity was shared by MINGANA who says in one place (Catalogue, col. 325) that he "seems to have lived in the eighteenth century".

   The collection appears independently in MSS Par.syr. 209 (xvii cent.) and Mingana Syr. 144 (Karsh., AD 1892). Among MSS of MbK:

   a. P contains the whole collection after the end of MbK's collection (nos. 4-10, ZOTENBERG, 158);

   b. L contains the treatises on Maundy Thursday, on the footwashing (both anonymously), and on Good Friday, at the end of the MS (nos. 4-6, WRIGHT, Cat.ii.880);

   c. H contains only the treatise on Good Friday, fols. 134b-148b;

   d. R contains six of the seven, the three for Holy Week occurring before no. 27 and the other three displacing or replacing homilies of MbK.

   This evidence does not imply that the works of Isho' were included in the archetype of the MbK MSS, but it does suggest that his works were early - within 30 years of his death in the case of L - attached to MbK's collection. Doubtless the explanation is that they provided the homilies for Holy Week which were wanting in MbK's collection.

10. Of MS Z VÖÖBUS states, "Der Archetyp muss höchst interessant gewesen sein" (art. cit., 73). This is because of the three treatises following the last one by MbK at the end of the volume. These treatises are not in M, however, and were no doubt copied from a different MS than was the rest of Z.

11. These are notes by a priest of Jazirat Ḳardu (= modern Cizre in the SE corner of Tur 'Abdin), on fol. 55a, and by two priests of Beth Severina on fol. 64b (WRIGHT, Cat.ii.880 and 881 resp.).

12. It is puzzling why this should not be the case everywhere in the homilies, but elsewhere (e.g. at 4.5 n.3) μ evidently sometimes followed L^a.

13. This discussion excepts the first appearance of homily no. 6 in C, for which see below.

14. As might be suggested by the presence of nos. 33, 34, and 35 in the first cycle in H, the scribe in fact turned to this exemplar well before the end of no. 36. The seam between the two different kinds of text appears to be after no. 27 on fol. 160a, though since the present edition is not affected I need not try to prove this here. The scribe, after finishing with this MS at fol. 218b of H, changed exemplars again, or else (probably) returned to an earlier-used one, to copy some miscellaneous treatises (not by MbK and not in the table) otherwise found in C only.

15. For more on these readings see the commentary.

16. There is one exception as the apparatus stands, viz. at 6.11:8. But the text 2-2 may as well be (and should have been by me) relegated to the apparatus as a gloss. The sense of the text at 6.1:6 is too uncertain to decide the case of n.8 there.

Text and Translation

EDITORIAL NOTE

On the edition:

1. The apparatus to the Syriac text gives all the variants (with the exceptions below) in the MSS C H L P. The readings of M R Z are not given, except (a) in a few cases where they help to establish the text of L or C; (b) at points where they support other witnesses unexpectedly (e.g., in the combination LR) and so testify to the tendency to error at these points; and (c) for some Greek words where their readings widen the range of orthography even further.

2. The punctuation of the MSS is often wilful and it did not seem worthwhile to try to extract any consistent scheme from it. The punctuation of the text is therefore that of C, and it will be clear enough where it has been overridden by the translation.

3. Diacritical points and vowels have been generally suppressed in the text except where they seemed useful or necessary in distinguishing peal and pael, pf. and ptc., and a few other homographs. With these "necessary" points, all variants are given in the apparatus.

4. Rubrication is shown by bold writing in the text, and underlining in the apparatus; variants in rubrication are also given.

5. The paragraphs in text and translation are entirely editorial.

6. Orthographic variants are given in full, except in the following

cases where spelling is normalized.

a. Cardinal numbers appear sometimes written out and sometimes as Syriac letters, and with hardly any discernible rules (even within carefully written MSS like C) for seyame. I have tacitly reduced these numbers to the forms prescribed by COSTAZ, Grammaire syriaque, 73f., except in lists where all MSS use only letters.

b. There is wide variation in the MSS on whether some compounds are written as one or two words, e.g. ܟܘܣܝ, ܡܠܬܐ, ܕܥܒܕܬܐ. I have generally followed C and written these as two words.

c. Abbreviations such as ܐܒܗ are expanded. When some of the MSS have the full form this is done tacitly; otherwise the expansion is shown in parentheses.

d. The word ܠܘܬܝܢ is always so spelled without mention of the variant ܠܘܬܝ frequent in H M Z.

7. The text of no. 2* is reproduced from (a microfilm of) MS H, its only witness. The beginning and ending lines in red ink, which did not reproduce, are copied at the bottoms of pp. 2*.1 and .18.

The translation aims at as much literalness as idiomatic English will bear. Words necessary in English but absent from the Syriac text are given in parentheses. I have not, however, tried to render every occurrence of ܕ, ܕܢ and ܐ into English.

C76
H126
L16
P86b

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By the hope, which maketh not ashamed,[1] of the Holy Trinity, we write the Book of Homilies by the reverend Mar Severus, who is styled Moše bar Kepha. First, on the annunciation of Zechariah. At the head of this way of the saving dispensation, which was finished in Jesus Christ the Son of God for the salvation of the world and for the renewal of (all) creatures, John begins. And this is very justly, and as reason requires. For if he who also was, as he was named, the emissary who journeys before the king, Christ, and the messenger who goes before the face of the Lord, naturally he was to begin on the new way. Again, if it is the truth that "The Law and the Prophets (were) until John", as he testified, "and from now on the kingdom of heaven ...",[2] how was he not to begin?

Also, indeed, the establishment of his own self was a witness of the beginning of new things. For his conception and coming into being (were) not according to the power of nature, but by the working of grace, the renewer of the world. Indeed, his conception and coming into being (were) from parents old and elderly in years and barren, and in both of them, nature was impotent regarding the bearing of children. But at the same time, the matter was also symbolic, for by it the world too is depicted, which had become old and aged in sins. It was barren of the fruits of virtue, (the world) which was to be rejuvenated by a renewal and produce the fruits of righteousness, through the child of the Virgin, the Word who become incarnate, whose emissary John was.

At the right of the altar his conception was announced, for he was the herald of the Lord of the right hand. And his right hand

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1. Ro 5.5. 2. Mt 11.13, Lk 16.16.

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opened up baptism, and he laid his right hand on the head of him who sits at the right hand of majesty. And he was announced in the season of ministry, to show that he was the limit of the former ministry. And his father Zechariah was struck dumb inside the sanctuary, to show that the mysteries of the sanctuary were silent, because the fulfiller of mysteries had come. And (he was announced) at the season of Atonement, to explain beforehand that he was the preacher of repentance conducing to pardon,[1] and that he was to direct the world in the way which brings to perfect pardon, i.e., to faith in Jesus Christ, him whom God his Father appointed (as) a pardon by his blood,[2] and pardoner of the world through the baptism of adoption and through the reception of his holy sacraments and by the practice of his life-giving commandments. He began on the tenth of the seventh month. "(On) the Day of Atonement", it says, "you shall not do any work".[3] On this day was accomplished the annunciation of the holy John, one humble both in heart and aspect, and an abstainer, a Nazirite in soul and body, and a preacher making (his hearers) desist from every evil work. Again, (that) the annunciation of the conception of the preacher was on the tenth of the seventh month takes on the connotation that in him the Law which took the impetus of its beginning from the Ten Commandments and made its <observance> - which should go with you until John - revolve simply and doubly around the sevenfoldness of days and weeks and years, comes to rest. And Zechariah's burning of incense shows that he is the high priest, although the good order of the high priesthood was then spoiled, as their affairs were coming to an end. It says, "And the priest who is anointed and consecrated

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1. "Atonement" and "pardon" translate the same word throughout.
2. Ro 3.25.
3. Lv 23.25.

1 ... ...

to minister after his father shall make atonement",[1] and again, "Aaron shall make atonement upon the horns of the altar once a year by the blood of the sin offerings of atonement".[2]

"Now in the days of Herod" (Lk 1.5). He who was a foreigner to the race of the kings of Judaea and an alien to the family of rulers, was nevertheless reigning then over Israel. This is a symbol of the fact that when Satan, an alien in the Kingdom and a tyrant, reigned, salvation arose through the great Saviour; John was his emissary and announcer. And just then the time of the outcome of the prophecy of Jacob had arrived, i.e. that he whose the kingdom is should arise when governors from Judah should have ceased.[3]

"But they had no child, because Elizabeth was barren, and both of them were advanced in years" (v.7). Now two things are understood: the barrenness of Elizabeth, that they had no child, and the advancement of their years and the old age of both of them, that they were to have no child. For not even she who is far from the condition of barrenness and has produced children in her youth is able to produce children after she has come to a profound age - something which Zechariah also brought up (as a cause) for his doubt. "I am an old man", he said, "and my wife is advanced in her years" (v.18).

And the annunciation of the preacher takes place in the inner sanctuary - not, that is, at the oak of Mamre[4] and not at Zoan,[5] but in the Holy of Holies. For it is the place of the house of the mercy-seat and of the burning of incense. The secrecy of the inner sanctuary

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1. Lv 16.32. 2. Ex 30.10. 3. Gn 49.10 Pe.
4. Gn 14.13. 5. Ps 78.43, Nu 13.22?

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represents heaven: from above (come) both the symbols of the saving dispensation, and the messenger who goes before the face of the dweller in heaven and announces heavenly things and directs (the way) thither. "Repent", he said; "the kingdom of heaven has drawn near".[1]

"And Zechariah was troubled" (v.12) at the sight of the announcer. Indeed, (so was) Daniel too formerly,[2] for events which take place with clamour, and personages who are especially exalted in splendour, are accustomed to cast fear on those who suddenly encounter (them). And he dismissed the fear by (saying), "Do not fear", and by (saying), "Your prayer has been heard" (v.13). The doctors have spoken many and various (things) about this "Your prayer has been heard". Some of them say that he was praying for a birth. And they bring as proof "Your wife Elizabeth shall bear/you a son", which is placed in sequence to "Do not fear". But this does not stand up, because he did not even believe the angel when he announced this, and brought forward the barrenness of his wife and the old age of both of them. This rather hits on the truth: that (it was) for the pardon of the world. Indeed, the day also required this, for it was the Day of Atonement; and the season called (men) to this, for it was the season of the burning of incense. "Your prayer has been heard": not only for your people but for the whole world. Lo, thenceforth the pardoner has bestirred himself for the pardon of the world.

And this, "Lo, Elizabeth your wife will bear you a son and you will call his name John" (v.13), signifies that behold, already mercy has begun to flow out upon the world, for this (is what) the name John signifies. Because Zechariah was high priest and among those who were "righteous

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1. Mt 3.2.
2. Dn 4.19, etc.

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6 > HL. 7-7 ∞ ד (sic) H.

before God" (v.6), and (because) it was his occupation to meditate on the Holy Scriptures, he rejoiced that just then the outcome of the events had reached the gate;[1] i.e., (the outcome was) the divine epiphany of Christ the King, according to the limits of the patriarch Jacob: "The sceptre shall not fail in Judah nor a law-giver in all Israel ..."[2] - Herod was the one who was reigning, an Edomite by parentage and a Philistine by (home)land - and according to the determined weeks of Daniel, which were just then spent and come to an end. What else was it proper for that righteous high priest to do but pour out prayer and supplication to God on account of the salvation that was to be for the face of all peoples,[3] and (prayer) that the epiphany of the saviour of all should no more be delayed? For Daniel too did this: "When I, Daniel, perceived in the book the number of years, and saw that lo, (there was) the word of the Lord which Jeremiah spoke, when the desolation of Jerusalem will have been finished, (viz.) seventy years, I cast down my face before the Lord God, to entreat by prayer",[4] which was also for that same restoration. "At the beginning of your prayer", (the angel) said, "a word went out".[5] This he also made Zechariah to suppose, and it was not far from what was fitting but rather hit the mark. And the emissary of both cases was the same, and the answer similar.

And afterwards (come) the promises worthy of the bodily messenger. And that he was to preach the way of salvation for the saved before the Saviour, that he was the inviter to the kingdom of heaven, while first opening up baptism, and the one who announces the pardoner - the thing which more than anything was joy-giving to those who were labouring in sins -

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1. Mt 24.33, Mk 13.29.
2. Gn 49.10.
3. Lk 2.30f.
4. Dn 9.2-3.
5. Dn 9.23.

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a -sey MSS.

this (is) regarding "many will rejoice at his nativity" (v.14). To his father, how could his birth not have been conducive to joy and exultation when he understood by the Spirit that it (was to be) so great and exalted, according to these <prophecies> which he spoke about it, and that a father should be worthy of a son who would be like this? Again, he had reason for joy, when he saw that at his nativity, once it took place, the awaited way of salvation should have taken (its) beginning, at the divine epiphany which should have shone forth from heaven to enlighten those "who sit in darkness and in the shadows of death".[1]

"And he shall be great before the Lord" (v.15). Now why is it necessary to discuss the amazing things which were effected through him? I mean the opening up of baptism; the laying of his hand on the Lord's head; the prophetic power which he received; the apostolic model, now when he was prophesying about the awaited one by (saying) "After me comes ...",[2] now pointing him out nearby and saying, "Behold the Lamb of God that takes away the sin of the world",[3] now standing in the place of teachers and exhorting the multitudes to justice and to righteousness according to the difference of (their) persons;[4] or another thing, that he was exceedingly chaste and showed exceedingly what his zeal on behalf of the divine law (was); and his rebuke to the king, which (led) as far as blood and a crowning (in martyrdom) by the sword - not to mention these: that he lived ascetically in the desert, and the rigour of (his) life, that is, the angelic life in the flesh. And on account of all these (reasons), let the word of the Lord come to us for a testimony to the greatness of John: "No one has risen among those born of women who is greater than John".[5]

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1. Is 9.2.
2. Jn 1.30.
3. Jn 1.29.
4. Lk 3.10f.
5. Mt 11.11.

1 ... ...

"And he shall be filled with the Holy Spirit while still in his mother's womb" (v.15). The leaping in the womb before the Saviour is a sign, or indication of the fact that he had received the Spirit in the womb - something of which no one else was found worthy, neither Moses nor Samuel, nor even Jeremiah of whom it was said that he should be sanctified before he should leave the womb,[1] and not "He shall be filled with the Holy Spirit". So alone, of all those born of women, John was crowned: from (his) fashioning, and while still in the womb, the womb of his mother, he received the Holy Spirit.

The force of "He shall turn many to the Lord their God" (v.16) is taken (to cover) his whole preaching, but especially the things which he was speaking regarding the person of Christ: "It is fitting for him to increase and for me to decrease";[2] that it is he who baptizes with the Holy Spirit;[3] that he is the bridegroom[4] and lord of the marriage feast and judge and wielder of the winnowing-fork;[5] that he makes an end of evil (deeds) with fire, punishing the evil ones;[6] "I am not worthy to loose the straps of his shoes";[7] and all those (sayings) similar to these.

And (as to) "in the spirit and power of Elijah the prophet" (v.17), there are many things to notice. And firstly, (there is) the fact that each in his time went closely before the face of the Lord, and was a cause of the conversion of many when they showed him physically and affirmed his divinity with testimony. And this testimony, which John accomplished at the first coming of the Lord, Elijah will accomplish at the second. (This is) not to mention for a moment the fact that both of them were

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1. Je 1.5. 2. Jn 3.30. 3. Mt 3.11 & par. 4. Jn 3.29.
5. Mt 3.12. 6. Mt 3.10, 12 & par. 7. Lk 3.16.

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priests, that (they were) celibates, that (they were) ascetics, that (they were) desert-dwellers, that (they were) zealots and rebukers of kings, that both of them were persecuted, by Jezebel and by Herod/ias - with (other points) similar to these.

"He will turn the heart of the fathers to the sons" (v.17). He here calls "fathers" the priests and scribes and Pharisees and all those who held noble rank in the old establishment. The "sons" are preachers of the Gospel, (who are) also "the just" (v.17): they are "sons" according to nature and according to rank, and "just" men because of (their) manner of life and because of rank. He says, (it was) not only the crowd (that) his teaching draws and brings to the truth, but also those among whom the rank of "fathers" obtains.[1] And if you take "fathers" to mean "natural begetters", (you will) not (be) far (wrong). By another way (of interpreting), take "fathers" (to mean) Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. By their "heart", understand the righteousness that is by faith - something for which they were famous: "Abraham", it says, "believed in God and it was reckoned to him for righteousness".[2] But as for Israel, because it held to the righteousness that is by the Law, it was difficult for it to be granted also the righteousness that is by faith. So when he came who justifies men by the grace that is by faith, freely, it was necessary that his messenger should be guiding and teaching that the children of Abraham should be acquiring the mind of their father, i.e., that they should believe that he justifies, not by works of the Law but by the word of faith, both the circumcision and the uncircumcision. (This was) so that it might hence be known that the children of ~~Abraham~~ Israel,

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1. Or probably read ... those who held the rank of "fathers".
2. Gn 15.6, Jas 2.23; cf. Ro 4.3, Gal 3.6.

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those who obeyed the preaching of John, had acquired the heart of Abraham, i.e., his mind, which was justified by faith. And precisely this is (the meaning of) "They shall come to and obey the knowledge of the just" (v.17).

"And he will prepare for the Lord a perfect people" (v.17): i.e., not practising slavishly, through inducements, for the Lord the observance of the Law, but with a good and perfect conscience accomplishing the practice which is pleasing to God, presenting themselves "(as) a living and holy sacrifice, which is pleasing to God, as a reasonable ministry"[1] - who turn (their) faces from earthly things and are mindful of these heavenly things alone, that they may receive the promise, not in Palestine but in the Jerusalem above, the free-woman and mother of the saints.[2]

"How shall I know this?" (v.18). Zechariah doubts because of the greatness of the tidings, and brings forward old age and barrenness. "I am Gabriel, who stands before God" (v.19); i.e., he shows him his greatness. For he is reputed and renowned, he who was sent to Daniel and committed to him the limit of the week[3] and who now came to effect the outcome of the matter which he began with Daniel and told to him symbolically. Hence (Luke) shows that he was worthy of punishment, he who believed neither such an emissary nor the outcome of the prophecy and of the divine promises, (although) set in the position of a teacher to the people. And therefore he is condemned to dumbness, until the time when the event should come to pass and the truth should show itself. And he receives punishment in hearing and language: in hearing, because he did not believe the things he heard from the angel; in language, because he was not convinced by the things he was teaching to others.

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1. Ro 12.1. 2. Gal 4.26. 3. Dn 9.21.

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And perhaps it was something advantageous that in silence the secret should be kept until the time when the angel should reveal it to the Virgin, and that by it might be depicted a symbol of the silencing and abolition of the priesthood of the Law, which began with the burning of incense[1] and at the burning of incense received the symbol of its abolition. Again (it was) because it is written, "Behold, I am setting up in Zion a stumbling-stone. And whoever believes on it shall not be ashamed".[2] At the head of the way of the stone, Zechariah doubted and stumbled for lack of faith, and was justly chastised. And perhaps he helped others through his chastisement.

"When Zechariah went out, he could not speak with them" (v.22). His delay and his silence and the glow of his face made the people understand that he saw a vision. "And he was gesticulating to them." So then a gesture, instead of language, became the minister of (his) thoughts, as he struggled to explain them to those who were interrogating him, (to explain) that the things which had been spoken to him were majestic and amazing things, and very exalted.

"And when the days of his ministry were completed, he went to his house" (v.23). (Things) have been variously said about this by the doctors. Some say, (the period) from the first of the seventh month, that which was named the festival of "Commemoration of the Calling ",[3] until the tenth of the month, which is the Day of Atonement, the most honoured festival among the Israelites, that which is also named the "Sabbath of Sabbaths"[4] in Scripture, (is what) Scripture names "the days of his ministry". Others, again, say, (it was) from this tenth day until the conclusion of the feast of Tabernacles, that which begins on the

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1. Ex 30.8, etc. 2. Ro 9.33. 3. Lv 23.24.
4. Lv 23.32.

1 ... ...

fifteenth of that seventh month and is finished on the twenty-second.[1] But taking account of the days of conception, the first (opinion) stands up better, even though because of Zechariah's dumbness and deafness, he was useless and superfluous for priestly ministry and for the teaching of the people.

"And it took place after those days (that) Elizabeth conceived, and she hid herself five months" (v.24). (This was) so that the world might be instructed by a symbol, that he who rejuvenated Elizabeth, a profoundly old woman, and healed the condition of her barrenness, rejuvenates also humanity which has grown old in the world, and brings it to the begetting of sons of God; and that he who had been hidden for five thousand (years) and concealed from generations and ages - having made himself known symbolically to some righteous men alone (and) having shone forth in that six (thousand)th for the salvation of the world - might be depicted in the five-month concealed conception of John. Because he was made known to the Virgin in the sixth month through the angel, she < >[2] in the knowledge of the self-revelation of the incarnate Word and Saviour of the world, in that she received him through angelic tidings, while this chaste old woman was also sacrificing and offering the proper thanksgiving to God. "These things", she said, "the Lord has done for me in the days when he looked upon me, to take away my reproach among men" (v.25).

Admonition. You, now, compare the parables and types of before, with this truth which (is) with you, so that you may hence know how much you are obliged to confess the whole greatness of the gift and the kindness toward you. For before, the seventh month was the Mosaic festival of

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1. Lv 23.39. 2. MSS: that also. Some verb seems necessary, if indeed this is the correct sense of this sentence.

1 -ה H. 2 תקיפי L. 3 +לו H. 4-4 >H. 5-5 חסר MZ
(deest L). 6-6 H^{ms}. 7 -ה L. 8 שפטים H. 9 מן H.

Atonement by the Law which runs in sevens[1] - and the seventh day was the one ending the week - and which stamps its course with a distinct honour for Israel. But here (it is) Nisan, the first of the months of the year, and that in which the world begins at Creation, (in which), very naturally, it is now renewed again. For it is right that he should be first in all things, as the Apostle said.[2]

Whereas before, (there was) the Commemoration of the Calling[3] and the Day of Atonement, (there is) now a voice calling in the wilderness and a preacher preceding the pardoner whom God has appointed an atonement by his blood, not for the knowledge of the Nation (sc. the Jews) but also for all the sins and iniquities of all the nations who believe on him who pardons and ~~has obtained~~ possesses this authority naturally. And also he poured out (his) blood beforehand by a word to those whom he wishes to pardon, as (in) "Take heart; your sins are forgiven you",[4] and those similar (passages).

And whereas before, (there was) a priest of the type of Aaron, here (it is) he of the type of Melchizedek. And from the whole tribe of Levi and of his ancestors tithes are due to the bearer of his type. And whereas before, (there was) a priest who made atonement first on his own behalf, now the Lord, exalted above sins, and for the sins of many, makes atonement by the shedding of his blood.[5] And whereas before, (there was) he who makes atonement first also for himself and his house,[6] here (there is) he who had no house and no shelter and no place where he could rest his head[7] - he, rather, whose own are heaven and earth and whose house is his church, which is we, those who believe in the truth of his divinity

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1. Lit. according to sevenfoldness.
2. Cf. Col 1.15, Ro 8.29.
3. Lv 23.24 Pe.
4. Mt 9.2.
5. Cf. Heb 7.27.
6. Cf. Lv 16.6.
7. Cf. Mt 8.20.

ܗܢ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܒܟܠ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܢ ܐܬ

and in the suffering of his death. And whereas there, (there was) he who each year once in the year used to enter the sanctuary with blood not his own, here (there is) he who entered the heavens once with his own blood and has made atonement for all.[1] And whereas before, (it was) a bullock, an ox,[2] here (it is) the fatted ox that the father has slain, that is, which he has committed to slaughter on account of the prodigal son.[3] And whereas before (it was) a lamb a year old,[4] here (it is) "the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world".[5] And whereas formerly (it was) a goat occasionally and from time to time, here (it is) he who, on behalf of sinners offered up himself. The angry portion on the left side has rather become serene and on the right side,[6] when the Lord of the right hand suffered in the flesh on its behalf. Whereas before, blood was not rational, here (there is) blood (which is) rational and which, more than the blood of Abel, cries out not to condemn those who shed it but to justify those on behalf of whom it was shed. Whereas before, sin worked the earth in a furrow, and "changed the dry desert into pools of water",[7] here rivers of living water shall gush from the bellies of those who believe.[8] Whereas before, the rest of children and of servants and of animals was on holidays and on festivals and on Sabbaths,[9] now (there is) rest from vain labours and from the burden of sin. Whereas before, (it was) that those of the rank of sons were rebelliously subjected to sin or yoked themselves sa[illegible]vishly in the yoke of lusts, or from ignorance or lack of discernment toiled like animals in vain (tasks), and for them true rest was obtained physically; here (he says), "Come to me, you who labour and carry heavy loads and I will give you rest".[10] Whereas before,

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1. Heb 9.7,12.
2. Lv 9.2,4, etc.
3. Lk 15.23.
4. Lv 9.3, etc.
5. Jn 1.29.
6. Cf. Mt 25.33?
7. Ps 107.35.
8. Jn 7.38.
9. Ex 20.10, Dt 5.14.
10. Mt 11.28.

1 ... ...

(there was) punishment of sins through the Law given through Moses, now (there is) complete forgiveness for all the unlawful things (which we have) through the Son who was sent "not to judge the world, but that it might be saved through him".[1] [2]

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1. Jn 3.17. 2. MS H adds the following long section:

When you understand these things and weigh (them) on the scales of justice, give God what is fitting. That which is worthy (was) something obligatory and necessary even (for) the incorporeal angels at that time according to (their) power. And how shall this be?

(It shall be,) when you shall leave the shadow of the law; when you shall cast from you the childish mind that is lured by milk and honey and by species and kinds of earthly products; when you shall become a grown man and a perfect people for God. This the preacher requires you, he who came even to prepare for this one, that he might bring home a perfect people[3] and an abundant people to the Lord.

(It shall be,) when you shall put the flesh from you with one word, and its desires and its own passions and itchings and its controversy and its contention towards the Spirit, and shall yoke the two of them with the one yoke of perfection - or rather place the latter, bloody(?) and earthy, beneath the former, exalted and spiritual.

(It shall be,) when you shall <>[4] estrange yourself from the words of the Law and anger, and not exact cheek for cheek and tooth for tooth and life for life lawfully in vengeance - the canon of Moses and the prophets whose (outer) border is John, the emissary of Christ the giver of the perfect law of the Spirit - (and) submit freely in (your) will, not by compulsion, to the new law, that which has commanded you to receive cheek with cheek when you turn voluntarily to the one who strikes, and give cloak with coat to him who asks. And this, that we should love an enemy and honour him who hates (us) and pray with a good heart for those who persecute and

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3. Lk 1.17. 4. MS: not.

ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ

Continuing these things. May the Lord who has begun to announce to ou • race the amazements of his salvation fill you with "the hope that makes not ashamed" in (any) test of your endurance.[1] May the Lord show you (to be) a priestly people and a holy nation,[2] pleasing to him with reasonable ministry.[3] May the Lord make to exude from you the odour of the understanding of the knowledge of him, pleasing in all things. May he confirm you in illustrious faith in him and may he establish you indivisible (in mind), about his unimpeachable promises. May he rejuvenate you by the light of

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oppress, that we may become the likeness of the (Most) High - (or) rather that God the Exalted may depict in ourselves that which is exalted, (the God) who once (and for all) made us children of his grace through the sharing of his true and natural and beloved Son who on our behalf took flesh and suffered and died - or rather when you shall love God from your whole soul and from your whole heart.

First chapter: on the Law and the Prophets, and that "you shall love your neighbour as yourself".[4] Chapter two: the one (stating) that you should restrain the belly, <the fountainhead> of all evils and mother of infamies, and control the engulfing throat bringing (men) to Sheol, and receive and be persuaded by the good counsel of a wise man. There is, it says, no burden (in this).

You should keep yourself entirely from disgraceful drunkenness, from abundance of wine, that inciter of anger, while taking care of the needy and serving the poor. You are he who when you were more needy and poor than all, were enriched (with) divinity, unequalled riches, through God who was rich in all things (but) who on our behalf made himself poor and came to the despisedness of flesh. And you received the promises concerning the <kingdom>[5] of heaven, true (promises) in every way and undeceiving. And it is up to you to receive them in a trial, if you are a fulfiller of his commandments, (showing) mercy on the needy in response to God's love of mankind, (God), he who commands that this be so and be fulfilled.

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1. Ro 5.3-5.
2. Cf. 1 Pt 2.9.
3. Ro 12.1.
4. Lv 19.18.
5. MS: kingdoms.

1 ויעקב: ויאמר אל אנשי ביתו והסירו את אלהי הנכר אשר בתוככם
והטהרו והחליפו שמלתיכם: ונקומה ונעלה בית אל ואעשה שם
2 מזבח: ויתנו אל יעקב את כל אלהי הנכר אשר בידם ואת הנזמים
אשר באזניהם: ויטמן יעקב אתם תחת האלה אשר עם שכם:
ויסעו ויהי חתת אלהים על הערים אשר סביבותיהם ולא רדפו
5 אחרי בני יעקב: ויבא יעקב לוז אשר בארץ כנען הוא בית אל
הוא ואל כל העם אשר אתו: ויבן שם מזבח ויקרא למקום אל
בית אל כי שם נגלו אליו האלהים בברחו מפני אחיו:

1 + אשר L. 2 אשתו CHP text L. 3 + את H. 4 +ה HL. 5 + בשם L.
6-6 אשר אתו ויבן שם מזבח ויקרא למקום אל בית אל L >P. 7-7 ויטמנם H.
8 + ויסעו משם H. 9-9 ויבא יעקב לוז H(R).

his presence that you may be able to put forth the good seeds of reverence. May he deliver you from all sterility, which is lack of productiveness, (as) sacrifices pleasing to God. May the Lord give you something more profitable than sons and daughters: imperishable love towards one another, and the glory of his kingdom for ever and ever. The homily on the annunciation of Zechariah, by Moše bar Kepha, bishop of Mosul and Beth Râman, whose training was from the monastery of Mar Sergius on Mt. Sahia, is finished.

C185
L78 ܫܡܥܘܢ ܫܠܡ ܘܡܪܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪܝܬ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܫܡܥܘܢ ܫܠܡ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܒܐ ܡܪܝ ܐ|ܢܐ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܫܠܡ ܐ

ܡܪ ܐ ܒܪ ܐ ܕܝ ܐ ܐ ܐ

Next, explanations of the annunciation of Mary, by the same Bar Kepha. The first explanation tells about what Luke has said, "In the sixth month, the angel Gabriel was sent", etc.:[1] i.e., the blessed Luke represents and signifies the annunciation to the Virgin Mary (as taking place) at a time determined by months, calling "the sixth month" here not the one counted according to nature from Nisan, which is the first of the months of the Hebrews, for the sixth from Nisan turns out to be Elul. But he names it sixth from a special and particular property: I mean, from the conception of Elizabeth, so that the order in the narrative should be thus: "And Elizabeth was hiding herself five months",[2] i.e. Tishri II, Kanun I, Kanun II, Shebat, and Adar, because on the tenth of Tishri I Zechariah received the annunciation, at the festival of Atonement, as we said above. And "in the sixth month", which is Nisan, the angel Gabriel was sent to Mary, as by numbering from Tishri I, Nisan turns out to be the sixth. So then Luke here names Nisan "the sixth month", being counted from Tishri I in which Elizabeth conceived. One ought to know that Zechariah the priest received the annunciation on the tenth of Tishri I, in the lunar (month) and not in the solar. And Mary received the annunciation on the tenth of Nisan, in the lunar (month). Now between the tenth of Tishri I and the tenth of Nisan there are six months, by lunar months. For the latter, the month in which Mary received the annunciation, which is the tenth of Nisan in the lunar months, fell on and was the twenty-fifth of Adar, the solar month.

Second explanation. It is required (to know) for what reason the conception of the Lord was announced in the sixth month, and not in another

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1. Lk 1.26. 2. Lk 1.24.

ומה הוא הטוב הגדול הזה: כי אם ∴ ותשקם הזה הנחל ∴ ואתה
הזה. כמו כאשר הגדול.והנה הנחלים ואתה הזה אמר ואמנם .והנחל
.ואתה ומה הוא הגדול הנכבד הזה: כי לחיותו ∴ והנחלים שמותיהם
P151a .והנה הנחל |ואתה ואתה הזה אמר ואמנם .והנחלים זה ואתה הנכבד מזה
הנכבד הזה ∴ ואמר לחיות ∴ והנחלים הם-הנחלים שמותיהם ואתה
ואלה .ואתה הטוב הנה הנחלים .והנה הוא הנחל הנמשך ואתה
הזה. ואתה הנחל[1] הוא ואתה[2] הנה ואתה הנחלים הזה ∴ ואתה
C176 ואתה שיהיה |ואתה ואתה. ואתה והנה הנחל ואתה ואתה הזה
ואתה הנחלים הזה ∴ הוא הנחל ∴ ואתה הנחל הוא הזה כאשר
תהיה הנחל ואתה ואתה הזה אמר ואמנם .והנה הנחל ואתה
.ואתה ואתה הזה הנחל הזה ∴ ואמר ואתה ∴ ואתה
הנחל ואתה הזה אמר ואמנם .והנחל הזה הנחל ואתה הזה
P152a ואתה הנחל הוא ואתה |ואתה ואתה הזה ∴ כי הוא ∴ ואתה הנחל ואתה
הזה. כמו הוא הנחל הנכבד הזה: כי לחיותו ∴ והנחלים שמותיהם
.ואתה הזה הנחל ואתה הזה אמר ואמנם .והנחל הזה הנחל ואתה

1 הנה R^a. 2 +שם L הוא P.

month. We say, for many (reasons). One, because in six days he had created the creatures, it was appropriate that he shows that in six the conception was announced of him who would renew them because they grew old in sin. Second, because on the sixth day he had created man,[1] and on that sixth day he fell by sin, it was appropriate that in the sixth month his conception should be announced, so that he might save him and justify him from his sin. Third, again, because on the sixth day the body and non-bodily (element) were gathered together and man was compounded from them. And by reason of the commandment, there was enmity between the bodily and the non-bodily (elements[2]). It was suitable that in the sixth month the conception of the Lord should be announced, so that he might destroy in his flesh the fence that was standing between angels and men.[3] Fourth, because in the six thousandth year of the world, he took flesh and became man, it was fitting that in the sixth month the conception of the Lord should be announced. Fifth, again, because on the sixth day he was to endure sufferings and death, it was appropriate that in the sixth month his conception should be announced.

Third explanation. It is required (to know) for what reason his conception was announced and he was conceived in the month of Nisan, and not in another month. And we say, for many (reasons). First, because it was the first month and chief of months,[4] and the Lord too was the first, and "first-born of many brothers" as the blessed Paul said.[5] Second, because in this month Nisan he created the creatures at the beginning, it was appropriate that in this month he should create them anew as a new creation, through his conception. Third, again, because also the lamb

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1. Gn 1.26 - 31.
2. Or beings.
3. Eph 2.14.
4. Ex 12.2.
5. Ro 8.29.

ملكيصادق هو ملك ساليم. أخرج خبزا وخمرا وكان كاهنا لله العلي. 1
وبارك له وقال مبارك أبرام من الله العلي مالك السماوات والأرض. C1b1a P152a
ومبارك الله العلي الذي أسلم أعداءك في يدك. وأعطاه عشرا من كل شيء. 5
فقال له ملكيصادق ملك ساليم أخرج خبزا وخمرا لأنه كاهن الله العلي.
وبارك أبرام وقال مبارك أبرام من الله العلي مالك السماوات والأرض. C1b2a P153a
ومبارك الله العلي الذي أسلم أعداءك في يدك. وأعطاه عشرا من كل شيء. 10
فقال ملكي صادق ملك شالم أخرج خبزا وخمرا لأنه كاهن الله العلي.
وبارك أبرام وقال مبارك أبرام من الله العلي مالك السماوات والأرض. P154a
ومبارك الله العلي الذي أسلم أعداءك في يدك. وأعطاه عشرا من كل شيء.
فقال له ملكي صادق ملك شالم أخرج خبزا وخمرا لأنه كاهن الله العلي. 15
وبارك أبرام وقال مبارك أبرام من الله العلي مالك السماوات والأرض.
ومبارك الله العلي الذي أسلم أعداءك في يدك. وأعطاه عشرا من كل شيء.
فقال له ملكي صادق ملك شالم أخرج خبزا وخمرا لأنه كاهن الله العلي.
وبارك أبرام وقال مبارك أبرام من الله العلي مالك السماوات والأرض. C1b2b P155a 20
ومبارك الله العلي الذي أسلم أعداءك في يدك. وأعطاه عشرا من كل شيء.

1 Pa. 2-2 بارك صار C بارك L. 3 صاليم L. 4 أخرج L. 5 وعلى CM.
6 وعلى CL. 7-7 > L. 8 بارك L.

a صاليم MSS.

of Passover, which preceded and was made a type through Moses and Aaron, was depicting the Lord, who was our Passover, as it is written.[1] And in this "month of flowers",[2] which is Nisan, it used to be <confined>.[3] Fourth, because also in this month he was to suffer and die and rise. Fifth, again: because in this month his conception was announced at this his first coming, it is appropriate that also at his second coming it is to be in this month of Nisan.

Fourth explanation. It is required (to know) why he was conceived on the tenth of this month and not on some other number (of day), larger or smaller. And we say, for many (reasons). One, because the number ten is a complete number. For above ten there is no other digit,[4] in that if you go up above ten you return to the first and second, etc., numbers. Second, because at the beginning of the name Jesus a yudh is located, which is the indicator for the perfect and complete number of ten. And because of this, he was conceived on the tenth of Nisan. Third, again, because the Passover lamb which preceded and typified the Lord - lo, from the time of the departure of the Israelites from Egypt it was <confined> on the tenth of the month.[5] However, this (annunciation) did not take place because of that, but that preceded and took place because of this (annunciation), through types and similies.

Fifth explanation, concerning what[6] some say, "How is a virgin able to give birth without sexual union?" And we say to them, those things which cannot be with us, are possible to be with God.[7] And therefore, the prophet David said, "The Lord does whatever he wishes, in heaven and on earth", etc.[8] After that we too ask them about the miracles which the

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1. 1 Cor 5.7.
2. I.e. Abib (Ex 13.4 Pe, etc.).
3. Ex 12.3.
4. Lit. number.
5. Ex 12.3.
6. Or the fact that.
7. Cf. Mt 19.26.
8. Ps 135.6.

ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܢܫܬܘܩ ܒܗ ܘܢܫܬܘܩ ܒܗ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܠܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ

Lord performed, and let them answer us concerning them. How did he create the creation from nothing? How does the earth stand upon nothing? How does the sun, whose nature is burning fire, go about under the firmament, whose nature is of water, without melting it for lo, almost seven thousand years? How does the firmament, whose nature is of water, and (which) is greater than it, not extinguish (it)? How does the Wheel - I mean the (heavenly) sphere - being no rational being, revolve, when there is nothing external making it revolve? How do the bodies of the sun and of the moon and of the stars revolve, when there is nothing making them revolve? How do they stand, when they neither hang by anything nor rest on anything? How did Adam beget Eve? And how did a tree beget a ram?[1] How did a fire take hold of a bush and blaze there and (the bush) not burn up?[2] How did Moses' rod actually become a serpent and swallow up the other serpents?[3] How did the water of the river Nile actually become blood while being unchanged from its nature?[4] How did the ash of the furnace become boils on bodies when it fell upon them?[5] How were fire and hail descending simultaneously on the land of Egypt,[6] while the hail and fire - being opposites of each other - did not cancel each other out? Those hailstones which were descending there were compounded from fire and hail simultaneously[7]. Thus the same stone was (both) fire and hail, the fire and hail not having cancelled one another out (but) having mingled, even having been mixed, with one another, and being one stone. How was the sea divided by means of a rod,[8] when if a rod is thrown into the sea it floats and indeed is carried away? How did a small stone cause twelve rivers of water to gush out, which were flowing and giving water to thousands, and indeed tens of thousands, and was more than enough for them?[9]

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1. Gn 22.13.
2. Ex 3.2.
3. Ex 7.10 of Aaron's rod; cf. Ex 4.3.
4. Ex 7.20.
5. Ex 9.8 - 10.
6. Ex 9.24.
7. Or equally.
8. Ex 14.16.
9. Nu 20.11.

ده ڪيت ڪڏ ڪيڪ ٭ ڪڏڻ ڪيڪ ڪيڪ ڪيڪ ڪيڪ ڪيڪ 1

P162a ڪيڪ ڪيڪ ڪيڪ ڪيڪ ٭ ڪيڪ ڪيڪ ڪيڪ ڪيڪ ڪيڪ

How did the dry rod of Aaron sprout leaves?[1] How did the dry jaw of a dead ass produce water and Samson drink (it)?[2] How did the ass of Balaam the soothsayer speak?[3] How did wood sink in water and the iron which was sunk float?[4] How did the sun turn backwards ten degrees for the sake of King Hezekiah?[5] How was a cake of figs placed on boils and they were cured,[6] when it makes boils when it falls on (people's) bodies? How was fire kept in a well for the seventy years of the captivity of the Jews?[7] How did a fish in the sea produce a stater?[8] How did the loaves become great and multiply in Christ's hands, so that many thousands were satisfied by them?[9] And (the same questions apply to) the rest of the other miracles which Christ performed. Now, if you answer us how these things took place, we too will say to you how a virgin gave birth. But if you say, "We know all these things truly took place, but how they took place we do not know", so we too say, we know the Virgin truly gave birth, but how she gave birth we do not know, because it is a miracle. And a miracle is this: something unsearchable by the minds of creatures. For if it were searchable, it would not be a miracle. So then it is inferred that the Virgin truly and really gave birth to a son, Christ - to whom be glory with his Father and his Holy Spirit forever. Amen.

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1. Nu 17.8.
2. Ju 15.19.
3. Nu 22.28-30.
4. 2 Ki 6.6.
5. 2 Ki 20.11.
6. 2 Ki 20.7.
7. 2 Mc 1.19-22.
8. Mt 17.27.
9. Mt 14.19-21 & par.

Lemma:

By the same, the reverend and godly Mar Severus, who is Moše bar Kepha, bishop of Beth Râman and Mosul, on the annunciation of the God-bearer Mary.

"In the sixth month, the angel Gabriel was sent to the city of Nazareth, to a virgin betrothed to a man whose name was Joseph; and the virgin's name was Mary" (Lk 1.26-7). If you should take "the sixth month" simply, you find the order of the dispensation confused, for if you count from the first, Elul is the sixth. If the pregnancy

ثنا: حاتم حدثنا يعقوب. الأخفش قال. للحسن بن صالح حنش.
أبو معمر صالح حجتنا. حنش وفضيل منا ومحمد أبو سوائف.
محمد. ومن حجتنا قيما وبيننا نهشل. بن وجزء. أحنش
جعفر هاشم بهما. وكلا جهل أجبنا وبعض مقاتل بن
وهي فهو محمد وبقتلا ويجعفر. صالح الحسن أبو
فيهما بهما. نصر منا سفيان. أسود وإذن محمد طاوس حصين
صوف ومحمد وبكر أبو كثير حنش. بن نهشل وهي حرف
ومحمد. بن وجه حجا فيكا وحفص. حنش وقيل بن محمد
محمد. موسى بعمر بن جبل بن يزيد وخير كما
قيس ويجعفر. موجز قيس منصور وجبل سوائف. الحسن
فيهما وبكر فيكا صالح. موجز ومحمد ذاتا وبن حصين
صوف منا فيها ومحمد. موسى قيس حصين أجبنا. صوف حنش
وقيل صوف وبن قيس. وبن حنش وقيل صالح. صفين
وقول: أسود وهي حجتنا. وهي حجتنا. موجز محمد أبو بن
حصين بن وجه وجعفر محمد الحسن. الحسن ذاتا ونشدنا
حجتنا الحسن: محمد أبو بن ذاتا وقيل موسى وهي وزيد.
بن وجه رجلا محمد الحسن.. أبو وهي قال أبو الحكم
وهي حجتنا فيها محمد حنش صالح. وجه
وجديا بن وجه صالح حنش وخير عبد. سفيان هم
لا يحيى: بكر حصين وفيها: موسى وهي حسان.
ج كما أموي سفيان وقول الأعمش. أخبرنا وهي أخبرنا
وبن فيها حجتنا صالح بكر حصين فيهما حجتنا.
ج. وهي أخبرنا وبن حفص وقيل. بن حصين حسين.
وهي قول أبو مهدي. وهب صالح بن أبو حنش
صالح.. أبو وهي أسامة بن وهب. الحسن وقيل
وهب. أبو حنش بن حجتنا بن حنش. صالح بن

should start from it, the birth would turn out (to be) in Iyyar. But it was not this (way). For the first (month) for nature is not the first month for the numeration. "In the (sixth) month of the dispensation" (is the meaning) where Scripture says "the sixth month", taking the beginning from the seventh (month), in which Zechariah was burning incense and it was announced concerning the amazing conception of John, him whose mother Elizabeth conceived him after the completion of the days of his ministry.[1] "And she was hiding herself five months", as the Gospel says,[2] and in the sixth month of it (sc. the pregnancy) Gabriel was sent.

So why in the sixth? Because the full womb of barrenness should give a suitable indication to the Virgin and the baby should be developed in advance and be prepared for this, for the expected leaping, and that with the leaping and joy of the baby and of his mother the conception of the King of Kings and Lord of babies might be honoured. And (there is also) this, more symbolic, that the Lord's conception should be mentioned in the first of months,[3] and that the things both of nature and of the dispensation should go forward together with him. That he is the renewer of his creation and its pardoner, (correspond respectively) to the first and seventh (months). And that in the sixth he was revealed, (was) for the deliverance of him who was created on the sixth day. For if the seventh, the symbol of rest, has been honoured, how much more, on account of (its being) a symbol of the coming into being and the renewing-again through the cross, should the sixth be honoured.

Again, it was fine for him who from the first until the sixth (day) created and ordered his creation that from the sixth (day), from which and in which the creation of man was corrupted through disobedience, he should make the start of his conception and of the word of his self-revelation, (he) having come for the correction and renewal of this. (This is) so that where he finished his former actions he might make a start for his latter actions; i.e., that where he finished the creation of man he has made a start to his renewal. (And this is) that it may be believed that the creator and renewer are one and the same.

Again, (a way of interpreting) "sixth" otherwise: if in this sixth (day) man's creator bound spirit with flesh and mixed the earthy with

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1. Lk 1.23-4. 2. Ibid. 3. I.e. of the liturgical year.

4 ܐܬܝܗܒ] leg ܐܬܝܗܒ

the spiritual, (it was right that) in this number that renewer of nature should bind deity and humanity in a hypostatic union, and he who in truth broke down the middle wall remove the fence that was placed between the sides in the sixth (day) because of disobedience. And he removed the fence of enmity.

<He, then, is>[1] sent to Nazareth, as has been already said. And why to Nazareth? Galilee, the dwelling-place of the Gentiles, Gabriel chose - or rather the sender of Gabriel - that he might confirm the promise which was spoken beforehand through Isaiah, "The people that have dwelt in darkness and the shadows of death have seen a great light"[2] - and not just any light but the true light; and he testified about himself and said, "I am the light of the world",[3] the preaching of his disciples having spread from the land of Galilee.

Now if it is accepted that a virgin is very fitting for the dispensation, (then) concerning these (it is) even more compelling that both of them - the first Adam, I mean, and the last Adam - should be like one another in some respect: first in this, that the two of them were not of seed and not of sexual union. The former (was) outside seed and was formed by the hand of God, and the latter was the child of a virgin and he formed his body supernaturally in the holy temple (sc. of Mary). (And it was also) that it might be accounted a repayment of a loan in due course. For then a virgin woman is born from a virgin man; now from a virgin woman the virgin's (own) creator and the fulfiller of virgins is born as a son, and the debt which entered into nature by the mediation of the first virgin, should be settled through the second virgin. For Eve introduced death, and gave birth to Cain the killer; but this one has brought life to the world, having given birth to the fount of life.

(It was) a virgin, again, that she might indicate and prepare the spiritual nativity of the world - that which was too hard to be believed by the teacher of Israel who saw (only) bodily, his mind not being trained beforehand in the amazing (ways) of God which gave birth to the symbol for him.[4] Nevertheless it was easy for him to understand that if a virgin without sexual union by the working of the Holy Spirit has given birth to a complete man, or God

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1. MS: They are. 2. Is 9.2. 3. Jn 8.12.
4. Jn 3.10 etc. (Nicodemus).

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incarnate, how much more should it be believed that from the womb of baptism by the working of the Holy Spirit men shall be born as sons of God, those whom the Virgin's child prefigures.

(It was) a virgin, again, that it might be believed that the father of him who was born was God and not a man, for he is the power and the Son of the Most High. But here someone might jump up ignorantly and say, "Well then, Adam and Eve were children of God because they were not of a father, for they acquired their being from God". (But) let him who has said this know that toward them God filled not the place of father but the place of creator. Indeed he created them "in the beginning"[1] when there was no one begetting.

(It was) a virgin, again, so that he might be born of her virginally without corruption, he who is in truth "father of the world to come",[2] he who is indeed above corruption and change and alteration and whose dwellings are like those of the angels.

What was the betrothal because of? For not even this is (anything) unfitting or strange to the excellence of God's dispensation. For it was right that she who was accepted to be part of this dispensation should have a keeper and guardian, that she might not remain left alone and without care of a guardian and be an easy (prey) for gossip and calumnies - not of course from her own relatives but from the inanity of unbridled and untrue tongues. For the deed was exalted that she was performing, and hard to believe, and it was as if set on a razor's edge. (It is) a virgin, I say, who conceives - a report not to be endured. For who would defend the life of this one or (allow) that she should (still) breathe the air (in a case) where the Law commands stoning, because she does not take refuge in complaint or ~~word~~ cry if she should suffer any sort of compulsion?[3] And therefore it was right that there should be one on whom the affair rests, and by means of him who is in charge of it - i.e. that he might test his betrothed with the water of testing if he wish[4] - there should be kept from her every rash hand and wicked intention.

Again, a betrothed man should be the advocate and helper of the loneliness of the Virgin when she should come to giving birth in a strange (place) and when she should be commanded (to take) flight to Egypt with her baby, and fulfil the lack of necessities

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1. Gn 1.1.
2. Is 9.6 LXX (hexaplaric addition).
3. Dt 22.23f.
4. Nu 5.11-31.

14 ܕܡܪܝ] probably leg ܕܡܪܝ

for her who was too poor and needy (to have) them.

Again, (it is) a betrothed man because on him would be based the descent of the genealogies of him who was pleased by his grace to become man and be called (a name) and be reckoned in a man's family tree.

"Whose name", it says, "was Joseph of the house of David; and the virgin's name was Mary." It mentions the names and families on his side in order to give the sense of the fulfilment of the promise and the outcome of the events expected with respect to David subsequent to Abraham and these promises concerning Christ, such as "I shall make a branch of righteousness spring forth to David",[1] and such as "I have sworn to David, and I will not lie, that his seed shall be forever and his throne like the days of heaven";[2] and again, "His throne is like the sun before me and like the moon shall it be established forever"[3] - with other similar ones.

"And the angel entered to her and said to her, 'Peace to you, (who are) full of grace'"(v.28). At the head of the angel's words, peace is declared to the Virgin; it is fine for him who meets the queen and mother of a king (to do so) with peace as an honour for him[4].

Again, (he says) "peace", for the abolition of the enmity which the first emissary, the perverter of the way, the serpent, had put between God and his image. For it was just that when the Lord came to annul the condemnation and for the setting right of nature that his emissary should be opposite in everything to that crafty one. That one was not the bringer of this to the whole of nature through the virgin of Adam, but this one was the bringer of peace to the whole world through the virgin of Joseph.

Again, peace is at the head of his way, explaining about its end, i.e. explaining about the abolition of the three enemies - Satan and sin, I mean, and death - which he abolished in his dispensation. With respect to this child who is announced: if he bound the mighty one and nailed sin to his (own) cross, and annulled death, and came and preached to those far and near, it is seemly that peace should be preached at the head of his way.

Again, "peace", because the child who is announced is the "ruler of peace", and "of his peace there is no end," according to the testimony of Isaiah,[5] and because he is

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1. Jer 23.5.
2. Ps 89.29,35.
3. Ps 89.36f.
4. Or probably read her.
5. Is 9.6f.

3 ⟨ⲙⲡ⟩ leg ⟨ⲛⲙⲡ⟩ 23 ⟨ⲥⲛⲁⲩ⟩ add cop

the one who "speaks peace to the nations", according to the word of Zechariah.[1]

Again, if it is he who "annulled the enmity in his flesh" and "abolished the middle wall"[2] between God and his creatures and between the Most High and lower beings - they <were> provoking their Lord by the perversion of (his) worship - and between the Nation and the nations - in him there was a coming together for the two - how could the head of his way not be in peace? (His way) is all bound up with peace, as (in) "My peace I give to you and my peace I leave to you,"[3] and he commanded his disciples, "Let there be peace toward one another",[4] and (he said) "Peace" to his disciples at the resurrection[5] and "Peace" to the Apostles twice in the upper room.[6] And the whole, so to speak, of the sign of his discipleship is love for one another.[7]

And he calls the Virgin "full of grace" in order to explain the greatness of the grace dispensed in the embassy to her, grace full of all graces both to her and to (us) in general. For it was incomparable, the grace toward her, by which she became the Mother of God and blessed out of all the families of the earth.[8] As it was prophesied, she received, and she receives in that she brought to the world, by the succession of birth, the great Saviour and author and giver of perfect grace.

Again, (he says) "full of grace" to teach that he is the creator of the world. For "in the beginning",[9] the child who is announced is he who then by grace built and set up the world. For it says, "The world shall be built by grace".[10] And now he has come to renew its old age and rejuvenate nature by the same grace. For truly by the grace by which the world was created it was also renewed. Neither then does that which had not until then existed deserve to be created, nor latterly was it seen to be deserving from its works when it was saved and brought to sonship, (the world) which rebelled against its creator <and> cast itself into the depth of wickednesses. But everything is by grace - the thing which when David perceived it he cried out and says, "I will sing the grace of the Lord forever and make his faith known to all generations with my mouth".[11] And again (he says), "I will sing grace and judgment"[12] - grace in human nature that has been redeemed, and judgment in the ruler

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1. Zc 9.10.
2. Eph 2.14f.
3. Jn 14.27.
4. Mk 9.50.
5. Mt 28.9 Pe, Lk 24.36.
6. Jn 20.19,26.
7. Jn 13.35.
8. Lk 1.48.
9. Gn 1.1.
10. Ps 89.2 LXX & Pe.
11. Ps 89.1.
12. Ps 101.1.

17-19 ...] delete.

of the world who has been condemned in that he cunningly betrayed man and cast him into the depth of wickednesses. This too the Lord confirms, saying, "Behold now is the judgment of the world, and its ruler is driven out".[1]

Justly, therefore, was she in whose womb great grace stirred named "full of grace". And she perfected the grace that was in the presence of (all) ages, which (our) God and Father sent as David sings, "And by it he saves the souls of men from the suprasensual dogs".[2]

"Our Lord is with you, you blessed among women." The "in you" (of v.35) reveals the announcer's meaning, and his wisdom. What is the grace with which she has been filled? It is the Lord of angels and of the exalted hosts. The fact that he overshadowed her and dwelt in her womb - this is what "Our Lord is with you " indicates. And he confesses the lordship of the Lord in plain word(s) and heralds the submission of his own self, in that he confessed the lordship of the announced one.

And he governs everything by what is opposite to the former things. With Adam and his companion (it was) an open rebellion and denial of the lordship. "Did God", (the serpent) says, "say to you ..." - (note) the bare word ("God").[3] And afterwards (he adds) a calumny against God: "Because God knew", he says, "that you are[4] gods",[5] he kept you from the food of the fruit. And in envy he disparaged him who is by nature true and good. So he put down the foundation and evil seeds for the multiplicity of falsely-called gods with this "you are gods" - deeds befitting the craft of the Crooked One. But the holy angel Gabriel, oppositely, confesses the lordship of the Lord and heralds his grace, and - while distinguishing the structure of the Trinity: the Father who sends, the Power who overshadows, and the Holy Spirit who comes and perfects - uses the unity of the term "lordship". And through the humiliation of him who announces and of him who is announced - the one although an angel and clothed in the brightness and glory of angels, and even though kept in bounds (only) for the mighty work of (annunciation to) the Virgin and for the necessary time, confesses (his) servantship and subjection; the other being Lord by nature and true God,

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1. Jn 12.31.
2. Cf. Ps 57.4.
3. Gn 3.1. Cf. "the Lord God" earlier in the verse.
4. Or would become.
5. Gn 3.5.

1]leg . 17]leg . 21]del sey.

came to the low estate of servants - the highness of that proud and <arrogant> and supercilious one will be destroyed and thrown down, the one who had designs on and fancied (for himself) an equality of form with the Most High and an equality of throne.

"Blessed among women": how could she not be blessed among women in every respect, both because of her innate virtue and because of the grace which was in her and which was dispensed by her mediation? For if by the birth[1] from her the curse of the cursed-among-women, Eve, the first virgin, was annulled and abolished, how is she not blessed among women? And if all peoples are blessed according to the promise to Abraham[2] and as David sings, how is she not blessed among women? For he (sc. Christ) also, in the raising of his hands blessed his disciples[3] and in them the whole world, and if this child is the saviour of captives and the life of mortals, how is she not blessed among women? And the blessed Mary (is) she who brought in to us by the birth[1] the blessing of the world which was sent from the Father.

"But she when she saw him was disquieted at his word, and was considering what this greeting was" (v.29). For the Virgin refrained from answering back and nowhere puts the singular appearance to the test, and she was not troubled with unrestrained tremblings. Fittingly was she disquieted by the sight and the word of him who suddenly sprang up before her and engaged in supernatural words and promises with her. For the gloriousness of his appearance <was> (a cause of) disquiet, and the fact that it was sudden and stunning, and especially the greatness of his word. On these promised things, which are high and exalted above nature the Evangelist bases especially the disquiet of the Virgin.

"And she was considering what this greeting was." For if Mary had been <instructed> beforehand and persuaded and aware of this mystery of salvation, it having already appeared, that God the Word is becoming man from a virgin and apart from (human) seed, and that she is the virgin whom Isaiah heralds that bears a wonderful child who is also God and the mighty man of the age,[4] and that the allegories of the seers were depicting <her>[5] that she should become the mother of God, then doubtless she would not have been disquieted at the angel's word and would not have considered

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1. Or child.
2. Gn 18.18.
3. Lk 24.50.
4. Is 9.6 Pe.
5. MS: him.

ومعانه محمد ابن.. لا يوسف عنه: احمد حسن
محمد الله الكوا.. حمد ويحسد الحمد امرا وهبها ميا
محمد ابن. حمد وم بهلك وبه بعد بعد وبعد عنه
وكحدا: ابن واحد الله بكا صفه. وبهلك وبه
وها لخا. ابن وبعد حكمه وبخا لخا ابن ابو. لخ باك
احسن محمد قده يحسن. واك كوا احسا رحمه محمد ابن
وبعد بعد احسنا: ابن وبهلك حتى الله محمد احمد. محمد
احسن كشف الله وبكا مشتمل انا لخا شيا الله احسن ابن
وبا انه محمد بحمد احمد. محمد ابن بخلق وبعد:
وبحمد ابن وبه وم عنه وبه احسن.. لاه واسنا باك.
ابن واحسن محمد الله. وبخ اسم وبخلق محمد عنه الا
انشا: ابن وحد حتى ه وبعد. ابن محمد محمد ابن. الا
حسن الله وبكا بهلك ابن.. وبكا صحمد احسن وبعد:
انك وبه لا خبا ابن الله احسن. ابن محمد احمد وبحمد
والحم ابن.. ابو عنه حسن محمد وحمد وبحمد ابن. وبعد
انا ابن محمد ابن ابن وبحمد محمد ابن والله عنه.
وبحمد محمد الله بعد حتى محمد وبه محمد محمد وبحمد
ابن محمد. محمد ابن ابن محمد وبكا وبعد.. ابن ابن
والله عنه في لا يوسف كتب.. ابن ابن وبحمد الله
ابن وبحمد الله. والحم ابن ما بعد ابن محمد محمد الله ابن
محمد ابن.. ابن ابن ابن محمد الله ابن: وبعد ابن ابن
ابن وبحمد: ابن واك ابن ابن محمد ابن ابن ابن ابن
الله: ابن وبعد ابن محمد محمد ابن. ابن واك وبم محمد
الله ابن محمد ابن: ابن ابن ابن ابن ابن. ابن ابن
محمد ابن ابن ابن ابن. ابن واك ابن ابن ابن. ابن ابن
ابن ابن ابن ابن ابن.. ابن الله ابن ابن. ابن ابن

what kind of greeting this was.

"Do not fear, Mary, for you have found favour with God" (v.30). This "finding favour" which is used, the announcer names perhaps because she was the finder of the beauties of the image (of God) which the first virgin lost, and because from her appeared the Good Shepherd[1] who went out in search of the stray sheep which was lost, which he also found and carried on his shoulders.[2] And likewise too (there is) the coin, the royal image which was buried in the passions, for the sake of which he lit a lamp and swept the house.[3] And when he found (it), he summoned the hosts above and the friends of men to joy over its finding. (All this is) not to mention too the finding of the Prodigal Son,[4] and all those (meanings) similar to these that we find by the grace of him who shone forth from Mary.

Again and otherwise, "You have found favour": the matter is not as if all the human virtues collected and joined in you were worthy, but (it is) a supernatural gift of favour which is compared with the finding of great things, things which one does not possess (by nature) (but only) finds.

"For behold, you will conceive and bear a son" (v.31). Marvel at the keen vision of the announcer! For the Virgin had two secret tremblings: that she "was disquieted", and that she "was considering". The angel felt both of them with the keenness of his vision and the gift (of perception given) to him, and on both he gave assurance and a reason for assurance. To the fact that she was disquieted he replied, "Do not fear"; to the fact that she was considering, (he said), "You will conceive and bear a son".

"And you shall call his name Jesus." The name is taken from the deed. For when Gabriel the angel was informed that the one to be born is the Saviour by nature - that which also when the bands of angels understood they preached at the time of his birth to the shepherds[5] - he said, "You shall call his name Jesus", i.e. Saviour. (It is) that which David previously supplicated and calls, "O Lord, save me; O Lord, deliver me",[6] when he became mindful that he alone was the Saviour by nature; as Isaiah too said, not an emissary and not an angel but the Lord himself has saved them.[7]

"This one shall be great" (v.32) - a word worthy

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1. Jn 10.14.
2. Lk 15.1-5.
3. Lk 15.8.
4. Lk 15.11-32.
5. Lk 2.11.
6. Ps 7.1.
7. Cf. Is 43.12.

of the mystery of the dispensation. For if, being God by nature he became man by grace, then it is amazing, he being great eternally, that it should be said of him dispensationally that "He shall be a great one". And if you are scandalized because of the fact that "he shall be great" is written of him, and this is a rock of offence for you, because (so it is) also for many - for those who hold Jewish opinions, I mean -, then you (must) have occasion to be scandalized at the Father too, and be offended that while he too is naturally and eternally God, Jacob says, "The Lord shall be my God",[1] and he says as of himself, "They shall be my people and I shall be their God".[2] And David sings, "The name of the Lord shall be glorified"[3] as if it were never glorified before.

"And he shall be called the Son of the Most High." But perhaps this adds scandal upon scandal for you, and offence upon offence, this "he shall be called", as if he had not been (before) and here became and was called (it). The former (statement) will not scandalize you, nor will this one scandalize you, if you have a discerning mind. Divine Scripture has the custom that when it should treat (a title) like these, (it should do so) according to the time it was called, and the way. For lo, it is written about God too, simply that "He shall be called God of all the earth",[4] although he was previously and eternally God of heaven and of earth. But the reason is this, that he was not by any means known or revealed to everyone as being such. (N)or had he already revealed himself and made himself known and been called and named, and (so) he said to Abraham, "I shall be God to you and your seed after you",[5] and thus to all Israel, "I am your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, to be your God";[6] and David (said) to God, "And you have established your people Israel to be forever; you, Lord, have been their God";[7] and Zechariah (said) as from God, "Thus says the Lord God, the Mighty One: 'Behold, I deliver my people from the land of the East and from the land of the West; and I shall bring them and they shall settle in Jerusalem; and they shall be my people, and I shall be their God, in truth and in righteousness'".[8] And in the case of Jeremiah - again as from the person of God, I mean - he commanded them this word: "And I have said, 'Listen to my voice.

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1. Gn 28.21.
2. E.g. Jer 24.7.
3. Cf. Ps 113.3.
4. Is 54.5.
5. Gn 17.7.
6. Nu 15.41.
7. 2 Sam 7.24.
8. Zc 8.6-8.

ولم يكن الله ليعذبهم وأنت فيهم وما كان الله معذبهم وهم يستغفرون
وإذا قيل لهم لا تفسدوا في الأرض قالوا إنما نحن مصلحون ألا إنهم هم المفسدون
ولكن لا يشعرون وإذا قيل لهم آمنوا كما آمن الناس قالوا أنؤمن كما آمن السفهاء
ألا إنهم هم السفهاء ولكن لا يعلمون وإذا لقوا الذين آمنوا قالوا آمنا وإذا خلوا
إلى شياطينهم قالوا إنا معكم إنما نحن مستهزئون الله يستهزئ بهم ويمدهم في
طغيانهم يعمهون أولئك الذين اشتروا الضلالة بالهدى فما ربحت تجارتهم وما
كانوا مهتدين مثلهم كمثل الذي استوقد نارا فلما أضاءت ما حوله ذهب الله
بنورهم وتركهم في ظلمات لا يبصرون صم بكم عمي فهم لا يرجعون أو كصيب
من السماء فيه ظلمات ورعد وبرق يجعلون أصابعهم في آذانهم من الصواعق
حذر الموت والله محيط بالكافرين يكاد البرق يخطف أبصارهم كلما أضاء لهم
مشوا فيه وإذا أظلم عليهم قاموا ولو شاء الله لذهب بسمعهم وأبصارهم إن الله
على كل شيء قدير يا أيها الناس اعبدوا ربكم الذي خلقكم والذين من قبلكم
لعلكم تتقون الذي جعل لكم الأرض فراشا والسماء بناء وأنزل من السماء ماء
فأخرج به من الثمرات رزقا لكم فلا تجعلوا لله أندادا وأنتم تعلمون وإن كنتم
في ريب مما نزلنا على عبدنا فأتوا بسورة من مثله وادعوا شهداءكم من دون الله
إن كنتم صادقين فإن لم تفعلوا ولن تفعلوا فاتقوا النار التي وقودها الناس
والحجارة أعدت للكافرين وبشر الذين آمنوا وعملوا الصالحات أن لهم جنات
تجري من تحتها الأنهار كلما رزقوا منها من ثمرة رزقا قالوا هذا الذي رزقنا من
قبل وأتوا به متشابها ولهم فيها أزواج مطهرة وهم فيها خالدون إن الله لا يستحيي
أن يضرب مثلا ما بعوضة فما فوقها فأما الذين آمنوا فيعلمون أنه الحق من ربهم
وأما الذين كفروا فيقولون ماذا أراد الله بهذا مثلا يضل به كثيرا ويهدي به كثيرا
وما يضل به إلا الفاسقين الذين ينقضون عهد الله من بعد ميثاقه ويقطعون ما
أمر الله به أن يوصل ويفسدون في الأرض أولئك هم الخاسرون كيف تكفرون
بالله وكنتم أمواتا فأحياكم ثم يميتكم ثم يحييكم ثم إليه ترجعون هو الذي
خلق لكم ما في الأرض جميعا ثم استوى إلى السماء فسواهن سبع سماوات وهو
بكل شيء عليم وإذ قال ربك للملائكة إني جاعل في الأرض خليفة قالوا أتجعل
فيها من يفسد فيها ويسفك الدماء ونحن نسبح بحمدك ونقدس لك قال إني
أعلم ما لا تعلمون وعلم آدم الأسماء كلها ثم عرضهم على الملائكة فقال
أنبئوني بأسماء هؤلاء إن كنتم صادقين قالوا سبحانك لا علم لنا إلا ما علمتنا
إنك أنت العليم الحكيم قال يا آدم أنبئهم بأسمائهم فلما أنبأهم بأسمائهم
قال ألم أقل لكم إني أعلم غيب السماوات والأرض وأعلم ما تبدون وما كنتم

And I shall be your God and you shall be my people'".[1] Again, the Apostle, in mentioning the word of the prophet, says, "You are temples of the living God; as it is said, 'I will dwell among them and walk among them, and I will be their God and they shall be my people'".[2] Did he therefore say (these things) to me when he was not God? Are these texts in the Prophets said about him as if he has now begun to be (God) newly and in time? Or was it known beforehand that eternally he is God? So he is said to have become people's (God) when he was known and believed in by them. Just so (is it) of the Son: not as if he were not eternally and naturally God and called God was it said concerning him that "he shall be called the Son of the Most High", but when he revealed himself through his dispensation in the flesh, then too he was known and believed (to be) Son of the Most High, or Son of God. And he also was named by the believers in the world, he who before time was not known in it because he was hidden.

"And the Lord God will give to him the throne of David his father, and he will reign over the house of Jacob forever; and for his kingdom there shall be no end" (vv.32f.). He promises the throne of David, but not the one made up of matter and transmitted with time from one (king) to another - the chair(?), so to speak. Otherwise, where shall we seek this (throne), of which not a trace is to be found, (the one) belonging to him who should reign for ever and for whose kingdom there is no end? And how (shall he reign) "over the house of Jacob"? It is today the most despised and lowly portion of all, the one with not even a land or jurisdiction in the world. Or is "the house of Jacob" (rather) (something) separate from the kingdom of the (king) from David and (from) the land where the throne is fixed? Or does it correspond to this, which is fitting, that he names "the kingdom of David" the mystical one, and "the house of Israel" the whole Israel of God,[3] and "the throne" the one which is from the promise and declaration?

Or will this be heard from you, something even more disgraceful, that he who promised did not keep the promise and deceived - i.e. God, who cannot deceive, he being alone true?[4] How, then, is it (with the saying) that "Like the sun before me

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1. Jer 7.23. 2. 2 Cor 6.16ς & Pe. 3. Gal 6.16.
4. Cf. Titus 1.2.

ولو هجموا به في الظهر. ولم يجد عليه شيئا. سبا يجب عليه
عقوبة ولا تعزير. لأنه ضرب ولو عليه وعليه شيئا.
وهو في أجل حق لهذا ولم يستبيح عقوبتها وحدها. وهذا أقل
إيلاما. وهو يسير. وهو لها لهذا ضرب ولو عليه شيئا فيجب عليه.
لهذا وهو لهذا وهو يسير. لهذا لهذا. وهو يجب
عليه شيئا. لهذا وهو وهو لهذا يجب. ولهذا
وهو لهذا عليه. وهو لهذا لهذا. وهو لهذا لهذا وهو
لهذا. لهذا وهو لهذا. ولهذا لا يجب عليه شيئا وهو عليه
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and like the moon it shall be established forever",[1] - what (he stated) with oaths, saying, "Once I swore in my holiness to David, and I will not lie",[2] adding "as the days of heaven"?[3] It (sc. the throne) was subjected to tyrants and the holders of the rulerships of regions - of the west, I mean, and of the east -, subjected now to the Egyptian kings, Pharaoh and others, now to the kings of the east, Tiglath Pileser and Shalmaneser and Nebuchadnezzar with others. But the Saviour of all of us has subjected (all) these too and, along with Israel, yoked (them) with the tribute of his lordship. (This is) according to the word of the prophet which says, "Israel shall be one of three, with the Egyptian and with the Assyrian".[4] And Assyria did he not subject[5] in the days of his childhood, through the symbolic offering (sc. of the Magi)? (This was) while Judaea pursues the true king and was seeking his life, by means of the alien[6] king at that time, who from the nations recently had come to reign - Herod, I mean, the son of Antipater. (He was) an Ashkelonite according to some, but an Edomite (according to) others, which is most accurate as Josephus testifies, who is best acquainted with this. (Christ subjected) Egypt when he, most wise one of all, contrived a flight (thither), and "riding on a swift cloud", as Isaiah the prophet said.[7] He furthermore provided for the destruction of the idols of Egypt and the ruin and abolition of demon-worship. These two(countries), to which Israel, scarcely (and) at the last, has adhered, (?came) a little in the days of the dispensation, and in numbers in the days of the preaching, to the king who was truly and naturally king and "whose kingdom has no end" according to the word of the angel.

Again, the holy Philoxenus, on "The Lord will give the throne of David his father; and he will reign over the house of Jacob forever". To whom is this (referring)? And it is clear that it is to the power of the Most High, him who overshadowed the Virgin. For because men abused the preeminence and the kingdom which was given to human nature in the creation, David alone partook of the type of the kingdom. And he chose him to be the renewer of the dominion that was from the creation. And just as he placed

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1. Ps 89.36f.
2. Ps 89.35.
3. Ps 89.29.
4. Is 19.24.
5. Cf. Nu 24.24.
6. Or proselyte.
7. Is 19.1.

ܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ

on Abraham the name of his fatherhood,[1] on Moses the name of his divinity,[2] and on Joshua the name of his salvation,[3] so (he gave) David the type of his kingdom. And he promised great and exalted things about its establishment and its confirmation. As he said to him in his Psalms, "I will establish your seed forever and I will build your throne for all generations",[4] and again, "Your throne is like the sun before me",[5] etc. And just as he took symbols from the Law, and from anointed ones messiahship, and from levitical priests levitical priesthood, and from priests priesthood, and from the Saviour salvation, and gave to all of them, which were symbols and types, fulfilment and confirmation in his dispensation, so too (has he done) for the kingdom. He took the type from the house of David, and established it and fulfilled it in his own true kingdom. And (the statement) "God will give to him the throne of David his father" was fulfilled in "Your throne, O God, is for ever and ever",[6] etc. It is not at all that he is abolishing the kingdom, but he has perfected it and established it exceedingly. That is testified by what Zechariah said, "He abolishes the horse from Ephraim and the chariot from Jerusalem",[7] which means this: he has taken from the kingdom of David the human dress with which it was clothed, as the custom is with kings and rulers of all peoples whose dominion is paraded with chariots and with horses. The statement that "He shall break the bow in war and he shall speak peace with the nations"[8] corresponds to his saying here that "He shall reign over the house of Jacob forever", which consists of the circumcised in spirit. For over them does he reign forever and his kingdom is without end. As it is said, "The Jew is not he who is one in outwardness, nor is circumcision something visible in the flesh. But he is the Jew who is (one) in inwardness, and circumcision is something in the heart - in spirit and not in writing".[9] This, then, the circumcision of spirit and the Jew in inwardness, the angel's word names the "house of Jacob" over which Christ reigns, he who when he receives the throne of David has no end to his kingdom. For if those over whom he reigns are spiritual and not

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1. Gn 17.5.
2. Ex 3.13ff.
3. Cf. Mt 1.21.
4. Ps 89.4.
5. Ps 89.36.
6. Ps 45.6.
7. Zc 9.10.
8. Ibid.
9. Ro 2.28f.

ولا يجوز أن يكون الشيء الواحد بالعدد في الوقت الواحد في مكانين مختلفين.

perishable and (if) the course of their life is not nullified in death, (then) it is clear that (in the case) too of the kingdom which reigns over them, its dominion is without end and extremity. And just as this nation that is gathered from all the nations has a start from Jacob in the flesh just as the Apostles were from Israel in the flesh - though it has an end -, so too Christ's endless kingdom took its start from the kingdom of David, which was given to it typologically. And just as the circumcision of spirit had (its) start from the circumcision of flesh, (so) as soon as Israel became known in the flesh the Israel of the spirit started. And from the slaughter of a lamb in Egypt, the mystery of the true lamb started, and from the (saying) "The voice of your brother's blood cries to me from the earth".[1] The resurrection of all was revealed from the (saying) "I have appointed you the father of many nations":[2] God's true divinity has become known to all those from the nations who are born anew. And from the (saying) "You have not withheld your son, your only son, from me"[3] arose the hope of "So God loved the world that he gave his only Son on its account".[4] Just so from the (saying) "Your house and your throne shall be established before me forever",[5] Christ's kingdom started to be seen on earth, and this "He shall reign over the house of Jacob forever and his kingdom shall have no end" started to be revealed. And just as the fatherhood of God towards the children of the Spirit started to be known, so too the revelation of the kingdom of the Son had its start from the promise to David. And the kingdom and the symbols proceeded and were transmitted by those who derived from David, "until he should come whose the kingdom is" - as Jacob said[6] - and he took it from David. And just as all those things that are in the Law are a type (standing for) what is spiritual, so the kingdom of David is a type of this one of Christ, because all the patriarchs and kings and priests and prophets were bearing and prefiguring the type of Christ and by them (sc. the types they represented) they were celebrated and adorned.

On "whose the kingdom is": Jacob testifies saying

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1. Gn 4.10.
2. Gn 17.5.
3. Gn 22.16.
4. Jn 3.16.
5. 2 Sam 7.16.
6. Gn 49.10 Pe.

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3 ܚܕܠܗ (?)] probably leg ܚܕܠܗ as in line 6. 8 ܗܕܐ] leg ܗܕܐ.
24 ܐܬܗ] leg ܐܬܐ.

that the kingdom is his naturally. "Until he comes whose the kingdom is":[1] he who takes (it) from another and commits (it) to another is not the one to whom it belongs but only a transmitter from one to another. For example, David and those after him: he took it from those of the house of Saul and committed it to Solomon; Solomon received it from David his father and left it to Rehoboam his son. And so they (passed it) from hand to hand. But Christ did not take it as a transmitter, for he does not commit it to another, nor did it reach him by allotment - for there is no one to distribute(it) with him - but as <its> lord. For it is his truly and naturally, according to Jacob's testimony[1] and as Christ himself said to Pilate when he said to him, "What then; are you a king?", "You have said that I am a king; I was born for this". So then the kingdom is Christ's and not David's. And he is the one who speaks peace with the nations, as Zechariah prophesied.[2] The nations were expecting Christ, as Jacob the patriarch prophesied, and not David. That Christ's kingdom is without end, both prophecy and the angel testify. "Your throne, O God, is for ever and ever", says the prophecy, and "your outstretched sceptre, the sceptre of your kingdom".[3] That the word is said about Christ, this (following) testifies: "Because of this, God, your God, has anointed you".[4] For one cannot, nor become so greatly impious (as) to say that this is to be taken about the person of the Father. The angel said, "He shall reign over the house of Jacob forever; and for his kingdom there shall be no end", because Christ's kingdom is a spiritual one. That Christ's kingdom is a spiritual one both the prophecy and the angel testify. And Zechariah the prophet testifies, he who after he announced to Jerusalem, "Lo your king comes to you",[5] said, "He will do away with the chariot from Ephraim and the horse from Jerusalem",[6] i.e. the human dress with which the kingdom of David, which was divided up into Ephraim and Judah, was clothed. For a spiritual kingdom does not need the weaponry of the chariot and 7cavalry <horse>7. Because of this he has done away with them from his kingdom. He is a king in truth, having come to establish it in judgment and in righteousness, so it needs neither weaponry nor the sword

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1. Gn 49.10 Pe. 2. Zc 9.10. 3. Ps 45.6.
4. Ps. 45.7. 5. Zc 9.9. 6. Zc 9.10.

7-7. MS: captain of cavalry.

2*.15

2*.16

2 ܡܫܬܡܫ] add ܢ .

for battle. And because of this, Christ the king has broken them, and abolished them from his spiritual kingdom. His own word to Pilate, too, testifies that his kingdom is a spiritual one, for he says to him, "My kingdom has not come into being from this world; if my kingdom had come into being from the world, my servants would have fought that I should not be committed to the Jews. But now my kingdom has not come into being from this world".[1] The outcome of events also testifies about this, that while all the prophets and Scriptures announce him as king, he confesses about himself that he is king: "Then the King will say to those on his right hand, 'Come, blessed of my Father'", etc.[2] No one can show that he reigned in a perceptible kingdom in the days of his dispensation, but rather he showed himself submitted to apprehension by the kings of the earth, and was judged before them on the day of his Passion.

Mary says to the angel, "How can this be, since I know no man?" (v.34) - i.e. in reference to "You will conceive and bear a son". Indeed the matter is an intellectual one and supernatural, that a son should be born from a woman without intercourse with a man.

And the angel answered the Virgin, "The Holy Spirit will come, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow you" (v.35). The holy Philoxenus of Mabbug says: the angel did well to mention "power" here in connection with the greatness of the thing, in order to make known that there is nothing sufficient to accomplish all this but his power only, in that God (becoming) man does not go according to nature or custom. And he who created everything by his will,[3] here completes the miracle by his power. And justly: where a product is concerned, his will suffices, but where his own self was concerned, his power was required. For those things which come from nothing into being or go along according to nature, his will suffices. But for this, God, being who he is, to become man, which he was not, and not from nothingness - thus the mention of his power is set down, (his) for whom in truth "nothing is hard".[4]

"Because of this, he who is born in you is a holy one and shall be called the Son of the Most High." Now this is a connection

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1. Jn 18.36. 2. Mt 25.34. 3. Cf. Eph 1.11.
4. Lk 1.37.

2] probably leg .

10] leg .

13] probably leg .

25] leg .

with that which comes before it. "Because of this", he says, "he who is born in you is holy", because he is Son of God by nature. And it is excellent (that) <he did not say>[1] "He became a holy one" but "He is a holy one": (this was) to teach clearly that even (in the phrases) which he said, "He shall be called the Son of God", and "the power of the Most High", it was not by anything that he did not have (already) he made known that he was called, but (rather) he was named by something he (already) possessed. And the start (of the phrase) was "He shall be called", not "He shall be". And from where his nativity started, there his naming started. And just as his nativity from the Virgin reveals the one from the Father and his hypostasis does not take its start(there) - in that the hypostasis was spoken of even before the Virgin -, so too the naming introduces him who was not known, and not him who <u>was</u> not. (This is) in that because he was unknown he was named; as the Apostle said, "How are they to call him in whom <they have>[2] not believed? And how are they to believe him whom they have not heard?"[3] And he shows that knowledge is prior to faith, and faith to naming.

"Who is born <u>in</u> you", he said, and not "<u>from</u> you", because he is indicating the conception and not the nativity. And it is what he said above, "You will conceive and bear a son". As one might say, "He who[4] has come to be[4] and is conceived in you is a holy one".

He calls him "holy" here, i.e. unchangeable. Even though, that is, he overshadows you and dwells in you, and shall become man in you, yet he is unchanged. For Scripture is accustomed to call unchangeableness "holiness", as: "I am holy and I will not enter the city",[5] i.e., "I am unchanged from the fact that I am not limited and not bounded that I should need a city or a house to dwell in". And because "He is a holy one" implies unchangeability, he did not put down that it is explicitly (so), as (he did) the fact that he became man, but only (that) he "is a holy one" - not "became", for he is eternally unchangeable. And even when he newly became man, so too he was naturally Son of God - even though the angel said "he shall be called ". How (else) could he give others "power to become sons of God",[6] albeit by the process of adoption?[7] And we have added "he shall be called" to "he revealed himself" and "he became known", for men did not know that God had a son by nature. And because of this they were not calling (him such). <So when>[8] he revealed himself and they came to know him, they also called him. (It is) just as is said concerning the Father

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1. <u>MS</u>: it was said.
2. <u>MS</u>: he has.
3. Ro 10.14.
4. <u>Or probably read</u> is (already) existing.
5. Hos 11.9.
6. Jn 1.12.
7. Gal 4.5.
8. <u>MS</u>: So then.

2 [illegible] del ? . 13 [illegible] leg [illegible] .

Ends: [illegible]

in Isaiah the prophet to the person of the Church: "The holy one of Israel is your Redeemer; the God of all the earth <>[1] he shall be called".[2] (It is) not (that) not being the God of truth he became and was called (so) at the last - for he was eternally the God of truth, and from everlasting - (but that) in having been unknown in all the earth he was not called (so). And it happened, after error was dispelled in the Son of God's becoming man, that knowledge of him was spread in the world. Then too he became known (and) was named "God of all the earth".

"And lo, Elizabeth your kinswoman conceives a son in her old age. And this is the sixth month for her who is called a barren one, because nothing is hard for God." Because the angel announced to her things that were supernatural, he assures her with testimonies which are supernatural, and yet do not match (her own case). For it is supernatural that old age should be rejuvenated and that barrenness should be fruitful, but they are not comparable to the fact that God should become man. Nevertheless the act is by all means a miracle and the work of God, but very inferior (things) to the fact that God should become man and a virgin give birth.

"Mary then says, 'Lo, I am the handmaid of the Lord; let it be to me according to your word'. And the angel went from her" (v.38). She does not remain in argument but comes to faith. Both from the words of the angel and from the proof of Elizabeth there will come agreement. And she next awaits the accomplishment of the promise and (its) start, naming herself the handmaid of him whom the angel had called Lord before. "Our Lord", he said, "is with you", to make known by this that Our Lord is also Lord of all the heavenly hosts. To him be glory and honour and power with his Father and his living and Holy Spirit, now and always and for ever and ever. Amen. Finished, the homily on the scriptural words of the annunciation of Mary, by the reverend Mar Moše, styled Bar Kepha, bishop of Beth Râman and Mosul. May God magnify his memory in heaven and on earth, and may God have pity on everyone who prays for Denḥona, the wretch who wrote (this) as he was able, ignorantly.

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1. MS: and.
2. Is 54.5.

1 ¶ ¹ואמר אלהים אל משה בוא אל פרעה ²כי אני הכבדתי את לבו ואת לב
3 עבדיו למען שתי אתותי ³אלה בקרבו ולמען תספר באזני בנך ואת בן
H27a בנך את אשר התעללתי במצרים ואת אתותי אשר שמתי בם | וידעתם
כי אני יהוה ⁴ויאמר משה כה אמר יהוה כחצת הלילה אני יוצא בתוך
C20a | מצרים ⁵ומתו כל בכור בארץ מצרים מבכור פרעה הישב על כסאו עד
בכור השפחה אשר אחר הרחים ובל בכור בהמה. ⁶והיתה צעקה גדולה
בכל ארץ מצרים אשר כמוה לא נהיתה ולא תסף עוד. ⁷ולכל בני ישראל
לא יחרץ כלב לשנו למאיש ועד בהמה למען תדעון אשר יפלה יהוה בין
מצרים ובין ישראל. ⁸וירדו כל עבדיך אלה אלי והשתחוו לי לאמר צא
אתה וכל העם אשר ברגליך ואחרי כן אצא ויצא מעם פרעה בחרי אף.
⁹ויהוה אמר אל משה לא ישמע אליכם פרעה למען רבות מופתי בארץ
מצרים. ¹⁰ומשה ואהרן עשו את כל המופתים האלה לפני פרעה ויחזק
יהוה את לב פרעה ולא שלח את בני ישראל מארצו.

¶ ¹¹וידבר יהוה אל משה ואל אהרן בארץ מצרים לאמר. ¹²החדש הזה
P1662 L96 | לכם ראש חדשים ראשון הוא לכם לחדשי השנה. ¹³דברו אל כל עדת
ישראל לאמר בעשור לחדש הזה ויקחו להם איש שה לבית אבת שה
לבית. ¹⁴ואם ימעט הבית משה ולקח הוא ושכנו הקרב אל ביתו במכסת
נפשת איש לפי אכלו תכסו על השה. ¹⁵שה תמים זכר בן שנה יהיה לכם
מן הכבשים ומן העזים תקחו. ¹⁶והיה לכם למשמרת עד ארבעה עשר יום
לחדש הזה וישחטו אתו כל קהל עדת ישראל בין הערבים. ¹⁷ולקחו מן
C20b | הדם ונתנו על שתי המזוזת ועל המשקוף על הבתים אשר יאכלו אתו
בהם. ¹⁸ואכלו את הבשר בלילה הזה צלי אש ומצות על מררים יאכלהו.
¹⁹אל תאכלו ממנו נא ובשל מבשל במים כי אם צלי אש ראשו על כרעיו
ועל קרבו. ²⁰ולא תותירו ממנו עד בקר והנותר ממנו עד בקר באש
תשרפו.

1-1 ואמר יהוה אל משה בוא אל פרעה כי אני הכבדתי את לבו ואת לב עבדיו למען שתי אתותי אלה בקרבו H. 2-2 הכבדתי את לבו ואת לב עבדיו C אבל הוא הוא הכבד את לבו ואת לב עבדיו למען הראות אתותי אלה בקרבו L text P. 3-3 ולמען תספר L. 4 +כה H. 5 + כ L. 6 > L. 7 -כל H. 8 כאשר H. 9 + את H. 10 מעמדי L. 11 +ויאמר L. 12 + ויהי ערב then struck out P. 13 ודברו P. 14 ומעט HMZ. 15 +ה H. 16 ושחטו H. 17-17 > H. 18 -ועל CP text HL.

Next, by the same Mar Moše bar Kepha, an interpretation of the words of Luke on the journey of Mary to Elizabeth. "And Mary arose in those days and went hastily to the hill country, to a city of Judaea. And she entered the house of Zechariah and greeted Elizabeth" (Lk 1.39-40). For because she had received annunciation (of) the salvation of the world and deliverance, she shook off from herself sloth and worldly cares, and with diligence she comes to the house of Zechariah, to learn the truth from the (actual) situation. Indeed, the angel too directed her to this, saying, "Behold, Elizabeth your kinswoman ...".[1] But perhaps the journey was also a symbolic one: for he who came to teach the world humility, even at the beginning of the way of (his) conception began in humility, and the king of the world journeyed in the womb of her who bore him to meet his (own) emissary - that which he later accomplished in person, as it says, "Then Jesus came to John",[2] etc.

"And when Elizabeth heard the greeting of Mary, the baby leaped in her womb" (v.41). And this (was) very appropriately, for Mary was expecting a conception that she would recognize according to the word of the angel, "Behold, Elizabeth your kinswoman is also with child".[3] Elizabeth offers Mary (her own) conception as a gift, for the leaping of the baby was an open indicator of the conception. And not only (this), but also the promise of the angel was fulfilled regarding her: "He shall be filled", he said, "with the Holy Spirit, while still in his mother's womb".[4] But whence does a baby in a womb have leaping and joy if it has not been moved by the Holy Spirit to this? That babes should move in wombs is natural - as "Her children press against her womb"[5] - but that they should leap with joy, is not, except with the working of the

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1. Lk 1.36.
2. Mt 3.13.
3. Lk 1.36.
4. Lk 1.15.
5. Gn 25.22.

P183a1

ܟܬ ܒܝܫ ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܢܗܝܪ ܒܪܡܫܐ ܘܐܬ ܐ|ܢܗܝܪ ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܢܗܝܪ ܘܐܬ ܐ
ܢܗܝܪ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܗܘܢ ܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ ܒܪܩܝܥ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܢܗܪ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܟܢ: ܘܥܒܕ
ܟܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܬܪܝܢ ܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ ܓܕܝܠ̈ܐ ܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܢܗܝܪ ܙܥܘܪ ܠܝܠܝܐ ܘܢܗܝܪ ܪܒܐ ܠܡܫܠܛ
ܒܝܘܡܐ ܘܠܝܠܝܐ ܘܠܡܦܪܫ ܒܝܢ ܢܗܘܪܐ ܘܒܝܢ ܚܫܘܟܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܗܘܢ ܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ
ܒܪܩܝܥ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܢܗܪ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܗܘܐ ܟܢ: ܘܥܒܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܬܪܝܢ ܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ ܓܕܝܠ̈ܐ
ܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܢܗܝܪ ܙܥܘܪ ܠܝܠܝܐ ܘܢܗܝܪ ܪܒܐ ܠܡܫܠܛ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܘܠܝܠܝܐ ܘܠܡܦܪܫ ܒܝܢ
ܢܗܘܪܐ ܘܒܝܢ ܚܫܘܟܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܗܘܢ ܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ ܒܪܩܝܥ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܢܗܪ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ
ܘܗܘܐ ܟܢ: ܘܥܒܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܬܪܝܢ ܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ ܓܕܝܠ̈ܐ ܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܢܗܝܪ ܙܥܘܪ ܠܝܠܝܐ ܘܢܗܝܪ
ܪܒܐ ܠܡܫܠܛ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܘܠܝܠܝܐ ܘܠܡܦܪܫ ܒܝܢ ܢܗܘܪܐ ܘܒܝܢ ܚܫܘܟܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܗܘܢ
ܢܗܝܪ̈ܐ

Spirit. For the Spirit moved the ambassador in the presence of the king. And the ambassador showed, in the presence of his lord who had come to greet him, whatever he could find in the country where he was stationed. And he also makes (his) mother to share in the gift with him.

So the grace of the Spirit poured forth especially on the mother, "and she cried out with a loud voice and said ..." (v.42). And she sounded beautiful in her cry, for she was the mother of the voice crying in the wilderness.[1] And she said to Mary, "Blessed are you among women, and blessed is the fruit which is in your womb" (v.42). Behold in truth the power of the working of the Spirit. For otherwise, whence did she have these hidden mysteries and secret treasures to explain? (It was) indeed because she was inspired by the Spirit, the Lord of mysteries and hidden treasures. I proceed to explain these things. The angel spoke to Mary alone in quiet, privately, while she was in her house in Nazareth. "Blessed among women", said the angel, and "blessed", said Elizabeth, for the Spirit had previously shown her that the one who was promised to Abraham, in whom all people should be blessed,[2] made himself the fruit of Mary.

"Whence", she said, "should this be, that the mother of my Lord should come to me?" (v.43). For she knows him (to be) Lord, him who came and abode in the Virgin, as the Spirit also taught her, and she confesses his lordship. And (it is) as if she were saying this: by the norm, a servant is sent to the lord, but now, because of the humility of the lord and king, he has come to visit his servant in his house. "For behold, as soon as your greeting fell on my ears, with great joy the baby leaped in my womb" (v.44), in the presence of the blessed fruit which is in your womb.

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1. Jn 1.23. 2. Gn 18.18.

ܡܢ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܕܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܐܢ ܐܝܟ

"And happy", she said, "(is) she who has believed that those things which were spoken to her from the Lord have their accomplishment" (v.45) - as if to say, you will not doubt in any way the words which the angel spoke to you. For they are not his but his Lord's, who has also promised and can carry out (his promise).

So when Mary was assured by these things, she begins to return thanksgiving to God. "My soul", she says, "magnifies the Lord, and my spirit has rejoiced in God my Saviour, who has looked on the low estate of his mother" (cf. vv.46-48). She says, "For behold, from now on all families shall give me blessing" (v.48). And as soon as she has returned thanksgiving on account of the ineffable gift which had come to her, she begins to require as tribute from all families that blessing should be given her, as all families are to give (it) until the end - she alone having been [1]acknowledged by[1] all the families of the world to be the Mother of God the Word, who took flesh from her and became man and fulfilled everything which the prophets had prophesied beforehand concerning him. To him be glory and honour and exaltation with his Father and his living and Holy Spirit, now and always and for ever and ever. Amen.

1-1 Or probably read found worthy, out of.

ومن ابتدأ بالسلام[1] على الناس[2] فقد بدأ بما بدأ الله به

1

وهو أن الله تعالى سمّى نفسه سلاماً. وسمّى الجنة دار السلام

P16b2 وسمّى أهلها أهل السلام. وجعل تحيتهم فيها السلام. وجعل

L16b تحيته[4] لهم في الدنيا السلام[3]. وأمر بإفشائه بين العباد

5 وجعله شعار المسلمين.

باب ما يستحب من السلام وكيف يسلم

وأول ذلك أن يعلم أن السلام اسم

من أسماء الله تعالى. وأن معناه الله فيكم. أي الله حافظكم

ومراقبكم. فاتقوه ولا تغفلوا عنه. وأن معناه أيضاً أن

10 الله تعالى سلام على أهل طاعته. أي لا يعذبهم. وأن

C22a معناه أن الله سلام عليكم. أي أنا أطلب لكم من الله السلامة

وأن معناه أن السلام الذي هو الله تعالى هو معكم. وأن

P19a1 معناه أن السلام[6] اسم من أسماء الله[5] تعالى. فكأنه قال

أنا معكم. وأن معناه أن السلام اسم من أسماء الله تعالى

15 وأن معناه السلامة. أي أنه تعالى يسلمكم من المخافة.

وأن معناه أن السلام اسم من أسماء الله تعالى. أي أنه

سلام لا يلحقه آفة ولا نقص. وأن معناه أن السلام

اسم من أسماء الله تعالى. أي أنه سلام لا يلحقه

1 >L. 2 +ه LP^{a}. 3 sic L ويحب CPR ويحب MZ. 4-4 وسمّى لهم L.
5 معكم L. 6 P^{a} الله P*. 7 لا P.

Next by the same Mose bar Kepha, explanations on the nativity of John. It is proper that we should investigate here many explanations. First explanation. It is asked what the penqitha is of which he speaks.[1] And some say, they are the little black tablets on which they write with pens. Others say, he here calls a board a penqitha; yet others say, he names a tablet a penqitha.

Second explanation: concerning which thing, of the things which the angel said to Zechariah, he bound his tongue and silenced his speech, when he said to him, "You will not be able to speak until these things shall take place".[2] (Was it) then concerning this which he said to him, "And Elizabeth your wife shall bear you a son"?[3] Lo, John is born, and Zechariah was more mute than the fishes! And if not (that), (was it) concerning this, that "Many shall rejoice at his nativity"?[4] Lo, neighbours and kinsmen rejoiced, and Zechariah was still dumb. And if not (that), (was it) concerning this, that (he should be dumb) until "he shall be filled with the Holy Spirit while still in his mother's womb"?[5] Lo, he was filled, and leaped,[6] and Zechariah was still dumb. Or (was it) concerning this: "He shall be great before the Lord, and wine and strong drink he shall not drink... And he shall turn many of the Israelites to the Lord their God. And he shall go before him in the spirit and in the power of Elijah the prophet, to turn the heart of the fathers to the children"?[7] Lo, Zechariah's tongue was loosed - that is, his speech was rehabilitated - before these things were to happen. And if not (that), concerning which of the things was his tongue bound and was his speech silenced?

And we say, the angel said two things to him, and Zechariah had doubted

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1. Lk 1.63 Pe: "And he asked for a penqitha and wrote...".
2. Lk 1.20.
3. Lk 1.13.
4. Lk 1.14.
5. Lk 1.15.
6. Lk 1.44.
7. Lk 1.15-17.

ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܪܝ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܗ ܐܠܐ ܚܕ ܒܬܪ ܚܕ ܘܐܦ ܗܘ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܐܠܐ

regarding both of them: the one, "Elizabeth your wife shall bear you a son", and the other, "And you shall call his name John".[1] And Zechariah doubted regarding both of them, and said, "How am I to have a son, when I am an old man and my wife is advanced in her years?[2] And if this happens and takes place for me, how am I to call him John, a name which is foreign to my own family?" And it is clear that ~~Zechariah~~ he doubted regarding both of these, from the fact that John was born and Zechariah still remained a mute; and from the fact that the angel said to him, "Hence you shall be dumb" - not "until this shall take place", which signifies one thing, but "until these shall take place",[3] which indicates two things. So then it is clear that he doubted about two things: about the fact that a son should be born to him, and about the fact that he should call his name John. But if anyone objects and says that these two things come before in the order of Scripture - I mean that "She shall bear you a son" and "You shall call his name John" (come before) "You shall be dumb and not be able to speak until these things take place" - we say to him, Scripture has the custom of placing prior things as later, and later things as prior. And this is clear from this same passage. For the angel said, "Wine and strong drink he shall not drink", and after this he said, "And he shall be filled with the Holy Spirit while still in his mother's womb":[4] he puts them in this order.[5] And who is so foolish and mad to suppose that after he became abstinent and became a Nazirite, (abstaining) from wine and strong drink, he returned to his mother's womb and was filled with the Holy Spirit, according to what the order of the words requires? So then it is inferred

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1. Lk 1.13 bis.
2. Lk 1.18.
3. Lk 1.20.
4. Lk 1.15.
5. Lit. makes the former precede the latter.

1 ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܐܬ ܠܐ ܐܬ ܠܐ ܐܬ

that Scripture is accustomed to place prior things as later, and later things as prior.

Third explanation: why he did not call John's name with his mouth as he wrote it down on the tablet.[1] And we say, because of the fact that he strove to speak and could not. (This was) in that the angel said two things to him: one, "You shall call his name John", and the other, "You will not be able to speak until you call his name John". And therefore, he was constrained by both of them: from one side, the word of the angel constrained and straitened him: "You will not be able to speak", and from the other side the word of the angel constrained and straitened him: "You shall call his name John". This "You will not be able to speak" does not allow him (to speak), and lo, if he cannot speak, how is he to call his name John? A new and unaccustomed trial came upon Zechariah in truth! So then because he was constrained by these two things - because of this, "He asked for a tablet and wrote[2] 'John is his name'". And when he wrote it on the tablet, he preserved both of them, "You shall call his name John", and "You will not be able to speak until you call his name John". For both of them were fulfilled and came to pass, and neither of them fell to the ground. When his hand wrote, at once his tongue made sounds, and as soon as he completed the last letter, which was he, his tongue was loosed and he said, "John is his name".

Again, he wrote down his name on a tablet, because the Old Testament began in writing, as God said to Moses, "Hew out for yourself two stones, and write the Commandments[3] upon them",[4] etc. It was right that the New

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1. penqitha, 1.63. 2. Lit. wrote and said. 3. Lit. words.
4. Cf. Ex 34.1, Dt 10.1.

ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܐܬ ܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢܬ ܐܝܠܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܝ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܕܢܦܠ ܒܝܕ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܒܫܡܗ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܡܐܡܝܢ ܒܗ ܕܗܘ ܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܚܝ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܝܬ

Testament too should begin in writing and on a tablet. And on that writing of the tables were the Ten Commandments. And here on the tablet were ten letters:[1] J O H N I S H I S N A M E. And there, Moses was halting of speech,[2] and here Zechariah is silenced from speech.

Fourth explanation: how Zechariah wrote, (whether he wrote) "John" alone, or all three members (of the sentence): "John is his name". Although Luke the Evangelist has not said so, it seems to me that he wrote the three members thus: "John is his name". And this is clear from the fact that if he had written "John" alone, John's name would have been attributed to Zechariah and not to the divine dispensation which called and named him John in the Holy of Holies. For thus, even if he had written "He shall be called John", John's name "John" would have been attributed to Zechariah. And the fact that when Elizabeth said "He shall be called John", they say to her, "There is no one in your family who is called by this name",[3] testifies to this. You see, just as the hearers attributed the name John to Elizabeth, and not to dispensation, so would they have done to Zechariah too if he had written "He shall be called John". In both (cases) the name John would have been attributed to Zechariah: if he had written "John", and if he had written "He shall be called John". So then it is inferred that Zechariah wrote (all) three members thus: "John is his name", as if to say, "Do not question me about his name. For it was not given to me to name him and give (him) his name, but John is his name, as he was named by the angel in the Holy of Holies." And because of this, when those who were gathered heard these things, they were silent and did not answer Zechariah.

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1. In Syriac! 2. Ex 4.10. 3. Lk 1.60f.

1 ܐܠܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܪܝ ܠܬܠܡܝܕ[1]ܘ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܪܝ ܠܬܠܡܝܕ L123
ܘܐܬܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܠܬܠܡܝܕ ܘܐܬܝ

For if they had not understood that he was called so by divine dispensation and not by Zechariah, it would have been easy for them to answer him, "There is no one in your family who is called by this name", as they had answered Elizabeth.

Fifth explanation: for what reason the tongue did not name him John, as the angel said, but the hand wrote it. And regarding these things, we say many things. One, both of them were (operative): Zechariah's hand wrote him down and his tongue named him. Second, because Zechariah was the cause for this, in that he doubted, he gave him a punishment befitting his doubt: silence nine months. Third, because the hand is a closer relation to "John" than the tongue (is), in that the hand has five fingers, and the name John has five letters and (that of) his father Zechariah has five letters. So too, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the progenitors of their race, have five letters each in their names. Fourth, again, because he was going to lay his right hand on his Lord.[1] Fifth, again, so that Zechariah might receive a perfect resolution of (the doubts) he had doubted concerning John. For there is none among the senses which succeeds in the resolution of doubts like the hand. And Thomas testifies that until he had touched the Lord's side with his hand, his doubt was not resolved. And notice: on the eighth day after the Lord's resurrection Thomas was assured,[2] and on the eighth day of John's circumcision, Zechariah was assured. And the Lord too said to his disciples, "Touch me and know that a spirit has no flesh and bones as you see that I have".[3] Sixth, again, because it typified beforehand the hand of the Lord which was to be with him: "And the hand of the Lord", it says, "was with him".[4]

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1. At the baptism. 2. Jn 20.25, 27f. 3. Lk 24.39.
4. Lk 1.66.

ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ

Sixth explanation: for what reason he was called a foreign name that was foreign to the family of Zechariah and Elizabeth, i.e., John. And we say, for many (reasons). One, because John was the emissary of the king who renews the world from oldness, he was accordingly styled with a new name. Second, he was styled with a new name because he was to preach new things to the Israelites. For he said to the multitudes, "Whoever has two coats, let him give to him who has none".[1] And he said to the tax-gatherers, "Do not exact anything more than what is commanded you to exact".[2] And he said to the soldiers, "Do not do violence to anyone, and do not accuse anyone falsely, but let your wages suffice for you".[3] Third, because "John" is interpreted as "mercy", and the New Testament, again, whose emissary John was, is full of mercy - as Simeon the old man said, "Lo, my eyes have seen thy mercy",[4] and the Virgin Mary, too, said, "And his mercy (is) for generations and families, upon those who fear him... And he has remembered his mercy, as he spoke with our fathers".[5] Fourth, again, because it was a great and exalted mercy, that an old man, aged in years, and an old woman, barren and aged in years, would give birth to a child.

Seventh explanation. It is required (to know) why John's departure to the wilderness took place, and when he went out into the wilderness how old he was, and from whom he learned speech, and whence. The reason that his departure to the wilderness took place (is as follows). Now when the Magi came to Judaea, at the time of the Lord Christ's being born, and all Jerusalem was shaken, as it is written in the Gospel of Matthew,[6] and Herod called them and spoke with them and said to them, "Go, investigate,

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1. Lk 3.11.
2. Lk 3.13.
3. Lk 3.14.
4. Lk 2.30 Pe.
5. Lk 1.50, 54f.
6. Mt 2.1ff.

1 ... ...

and when you have found him, come, show me, that I too may go worship him", these (men) went and left him, and did not return to him. And therefore he was troubled greatly and enraged. And while he was investigating with the priests and scribes where Christ might be born, one of those who were standing there said to him, "In our neighbourhood there is a child, the son of Zechariah the priest, who has recently been born, and I have heard it from many that they say he is the Christ". And Herod had Zechariah brought, and questioned him, "Where is your son?" He said to him, "Lo, in the house with his mother". He says to him, "Go, bring him. But if you do not bring him you will die a miserable death." But one of those who were standing there and listening ran and told Elizabeth his mother. She took John in her arms hurriedly and went to the wilderness of the Ziphites, and she hid herself and him there. But Herod sent Zechariah to bring him the child, having sent armed soldiers with him. So when Zechariah went to his house he found neither John nor his mother. And he was afraid to return to Herod, and he went (and) took refuge in the temple. But Herod had him killed between the nave and the altar, as it is written in the Gospel of Luke[1] and in other (places). Others indeed say, John was moved by the working of the Holy Spirit to go out into the wilderness and dwell there thirty years.

Again, we say that John's departure to the wilderness took place by divine working so that his testimony about Christ might be confirmed; and so that there might be no sort of suspicion in it because there was kinship between his mother and Christ's mother, as the angel said to Mary, "Lo, Elizabeth your kinswoman";[2] and (because) he was to testify great things about Christ - "This is the Lamb of God",[3] he said, "Everyone who

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1. Lk 11.51 Pe. 2. Lk 1.36. 3. Jn 1.29,36.

1 ڪيو سڀڪجهه ڪيو. ڪيو سڀڪجهه ڪيو. ڪيو سڀڪجهه ڪيو. ڪيو سڀڪجهه ڪيو.
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C27a ڪيو. ڪيو سڀڪجهه ڪيو ڪيو. ڪيو سڀڪجهه ڪيو ڪيو. ڪيو سڀڪجهه ڪيو
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C26b ڪيو. ڪيو سڀڪجهه ڪيو ڪيو. ڪيو سڀڪجهه ڪيو ڪيو. ڪيو سڀڪجهه ڪيو
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L136 ڪيو. ڪيو سڀڪجهه ڪيو ڪيو. ڪيو سڀڪجهه ڪيو ڪيو. ڪيو سڀڪجهه ڪيو
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1 ڪيو. ڪيو سڀڪجهه ڪيو ڪيو. ڪيو سڀڪجهه ڪيو ڪيو. ڪيو سڀڪجهه ڪيو

1 ڪيو سڀڪجهه L. 2 ڪيو سڀڪجهه L. 3-3 ڪيو سڀڪجهه ڪيو P.
4 ڪيو سڀڪجهه L.

does not believe in the Son of God, God's wrath shall remain upon him",[1] "I need to be baptized by you",[2] etc. He went out to the wilderness from his infancy, so that when he should come and testify these divine things about him the Jews would believe him, seeing that he was an ascetic and a Nazirite and did not possess worldly and earthly things, and neither knew Christ beforehand, nor saw him nor indeed had companionship with him, in that he lived thirty years in the wilderness until that time when he came and testified about him. And so John too says, "And I had not known him. But the one who sent me to baptize with water, he said to me, 'The one on whom you see the Spirit descend and remain'",[3] etc. Justly, therefore, did his departure to the wilderness take place.

But how many years old was he when he went out? And those who say that the Magi came and found Christ two years old, say that he was two and a half years old, because he preceded the Lord's fleshly being born (by) six months, as the angel said, "This is the sixth month for her, for her who is called barren". Indeed, those who say that the Magi found Christ six months old, say that John was one year old when he went out to the wilderness. Others say that he went out at six months old, because of the fact that they say the Magi came and found Christ in swaddling-cloths.

From whom he learned speech. Those who have said that he went out to the wilderness at two and a half years old say he had learned already, because children two and a half years old prattle (and) even speak. Others say, he learned from his mother; others again, from the divine providence and care that was upon him: "And the hand of the Lord", it says, "was with him".[4] Others say, he learned speech from the Holy Spirit, which

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1. Jn 3.36. 2. Mt 3.14. 3. Jn 1.33.
4. Lk 1.66.

1 הדבוק את הכוכב: ואם הכוכב הוא המשביע הרי הוא בבית הלבנה
LI42 | הכוכב[2] הזה הם. הכתוב[1] הזה הם. וכל מעשיו הם . לה
ואם הכוכב[3] הוא בבית הלבנה[4] כי הוא הם המשביע לה
ויש לחבר אליו. הלשון השני[2] (הזה) המתחבר לו שהוא
5 בית הלבנה. והוא שהוא הכוכב הנזכר: ואמרו הם הכוכב[5]
הזה הנזכר אחר הזה[5] והוא הלבנה שהוא הכוכב הזה
שלשה הפעלים הזה[5]

1 -sey L. 2 -sey PMZ. 3-3 >P. 4 + הלבנה L. 5-5 >C.

2 MSS הזכר.

in the form of a tender mother brooded over him and reared him and kept him both from the heats of summers and from the frost of winters.

And continuing these things.[1] And with these things, may he deliver you from all sterility, which is lack of productiveness, (as) <sacrifices> pleasing to God. May the Lord give you something more profitable than sons and daughters: imperishable love toward one another, and the great glory of his Kingdom for ever and ever. Amen. By the help of the Lord, the explanations of the birth of John the Baptist are finished.

1. This paragraph is almost identical to the conclusion of no. 1.

H28a

1 ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܒܪ ܐܠܐ ܚܕ ܒܪ ܘܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܐܒ ܐܠܐ ܚܕ ܐܒ ܘܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܐܡ ܐܠܐ ܚܕ ܐܡ ܘܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܐܚ ܐܠܐ ܚܕ ܐܚ ܘܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܐܚܬ ܐܠܐ ܚܕ ܐܚܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܒܪ ܐܠܐ ܚܕ ܒܪ ܘܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܒܪܬ ܐܠܐ ܚܕ ܒܪܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܒܥܠ ܐܠܐ ܚܕ ܒܥܠ ܘܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܚܒܪ ܐܠܐ ܚܕ ܚܒܪ ܘܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܚܒܪܬ ܐܠܐ ܚܕ ܚܒܪܬ ܘܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܚܡ ܐܠܐ ܚܕ ܚܡ ܘܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܚܡܬ ܐܠܐ ܚܕ ܚܡ

Next, by the same ~~the reverend Mar Severus, called~~ Mar Moše bar Kepha, a homily on the holy festival of the birth ~~of our Lord in the flesh~~. First, the word from the bēma. It is great in truth, O my brethren, this mystery of righteousness which has been revealed today in Bethlehem to men, and preached among the peoples and believed throughout the world. And therefore, because of its incomprehensibility, great vigilance and prayer and praise are required of us, that we may be able to comprehend with all the saints all those things that are said concerning this holy day in the Law and in the Prophets.

So then it is not right that we should leave off our praising, knowing that we are not able to praise as we ought. Nor let us, because we know that we are not able to praise as we ought, cease our praising, and cheat (his) glory. Nor, insofar as we praise in order not to be cheaters, should we reflect and suppose that the praises we offer are equal to the greatness of the honour of him who has been born.

If one should consider that he is God, it is a marvel. And if (one) should contemplate that he became a man, it is a wonder. If (one considers) his hidden nature it is a difficulty, and if his openly-shown nature it is incomprehensible, etc. Hands of flesh touched him while spiritual minds do not search him out. Human fingers grasped him while the intellects of all the angels do not grasp him. It seemed that he was explained by his becoming a man, but he became yet more difficult. He came that he might be spoken about; he was shown to be ineffable. He appeared among us a recipient, (while) above (he was) the giver; in our country a needy one, while above the supplier of all flesh; abased on earth with every man, while above in heaven equal with God the Father.

1 ... ...

If the mind should ascend above, no beginning is found for him, and if it should descend below, his end is not implied.

He entered Creation like every man, by being born. But even here again his nativity was a marvel, in that a virgin gave him birth. He was conceived like all other babies, but here too it is a wonder that he, one and the same Word, was conceived in a womb as flesh and was on the throne. And therefore, he(who is) difficult and incomprehensible seemed to have a beginning, and was carried on knees and embraced in arms, and he crawled like a babe, and in every way was childlike. And while all these things seemed to everyone to be ordinary, because they followed nature and the order of nativity, (yet) concerning this one who was born today, they were marvellous and wonderful.

So with fear and trembling let us praise him because he was conceived, being the Co-essential (with the Father); and was born, being the Begotten; and was nourished, being the Nourisher; and was borne on arms, holding in his right hand the whole world; and crawled on the earth, being in heaven; and accepted lullabies from women, while cries of "Holy" were sent him by the heavenly multitudes. He was circumcised, having given circumcision to Abraham. He took a name on the eighth day, having rested on the seventh day from all the works that he had created. He accepted growth in stature, having brought nothingness into being as Creation. He offered a turtle dove and a young dove,[1] he of whom it was said that his voice was heard like the turtle dove in our land,[2] and by means of a young dove sent good tidings to the ark.[3] He offered (them) according to the custom of those who purify themselves, while he had by nature purity and holiness and

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1. Lk 2.22-24. 2. Song of Sol 2.12. 3. Gn 8.11.

1 ‡ ... ‡ ... ‡ ...

at whose command the Tent of Meeting and the sacrifices and everything (else) in it came to be.[1]

It was necessary that he should become incarnate because man had become sick, and should take flesh and a soul - and he removed from the

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1. MS H adds the following long section:

An angel was sent from the Father to the Virgin to announce to her the coming of his son, and he found him whom he had come to announce dwelling, unconfined, in her womb. For he had left him as God with the Essence and found him as a man inside a woman. It is clear that he preceded the angel and dwelt in the Virgin, from what he said, for he said, "Our Lord is with you".[2] He did not mean, "He will be in you", but "Behold, even now he is with you and in you". For he was the mediator between the Father and the Creation, and it was appropriate that he should precede the angel and abide in the Virgin, so that the Creation might not receive (any) grace from Gabriel. He did not allow another to be the mediator of the good things given by him, in that he (himself) was mediator between the Father and humanity. An angel was sent, not to be a mediator between the Father and the Son[3], but that it should be hinted to the other angels that what had been hidden was disclosed in the message of Gabriel, because the angels were not able to see that God the Word had passed (from) among them. For neither can any creature see the Creator or the Essence. So it was necessary that the created (order) of angels, or spiritual beings, should perceive first his love toward men, on whose behalf he descended to earth to become man on their behalf. And because of this an angel was sent: so that they might perceive as by a hint, supposing that Gabriel was sent because of some (reason). Even though they did not come to know of the event exactly, all the angels marvelled when they perceived that God would descend from heaven to earth and (that) he now newly prepared to do something he had not performed (before).

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2. Lk 1.28.

3. Or probably read Creation.

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1 לא. ואם הפקיד אצל שומר חנם חייב שומר חנם בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת
שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל שומר שכר חייב שומר שכר בגניבתו ובאבידתו
ופטור בטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל השואל חייב השואל בגניבתו
ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל הנושא שכר פטור בגניבתו
5 ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל בעל הבית חייב בעל הבית
בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל הנושא שכר
בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל השואל חייב השואל
בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל שומר חנם חייב
שומר חנם בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל שומר
10 שכר חייב שומר שכר בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד
אצל בעל הבית פטור בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד
אצל הנושא שכר פטור בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד
אצל השואל חייב השואל בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד
אצל שומר חנם חייב שומר חנם בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם
15 הפקיד אצל שומר שכר חייב שומר שכר בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת
שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל בעל הבית פטור בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת
שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל הנושא שכר פטור בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת
שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל השואל חייב השואל בגניבתו ובאבידתו
ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל שומר חנם חייב שומר חנם בגניבתו
20 ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל שומר שכר חייב שומר
שכר בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל בעל הבית
פטור בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל הנושא שכר
פטור בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל השואל חייב
השואל בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל שומר חנם
חייב שומר חנם בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל
שומר שכר חייב שומר שכר בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם
הפקיד אצל בעל הבית פטור בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם
הפקיד אצל הנושא שכר פטור בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם
הפקיד אצל השואל חייב השואל בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר.
ואם הפקיד אצל שומר חנם חייב שומר חנם בגניבתו ובאבידתו
ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל שומר שכר חייב שומר שכר בגניבתו
ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל בעל הבית פטור בגניבתו
ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל הנושא שכר פטור בגניבתו
ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל השואל חייב השואל
בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל שומר חנם חייב
שומר חנם בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל שומר
שכר חייב שומר שכר בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד
אצל בעל הבית פטור בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד
אצל הנושא שכר פטור בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד
אצל השואל חייב השואל בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד
אצל שומר חנם חייב שומר חנם בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת שקר. ואם
הפקיד אצל שומר שכר חייב שומר שכר בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת
שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל בעל הבית פטור בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת
שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל הנושא שכר פטור בגניבתו ובאבידתו ובטענת
שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל השואל חייב השואל בגניבתו ובאבידתו
ובטענת שקר. ואם הפקיד אצל שומר חנם חייב שומר חנם בגניבתו

For once before they had come to know that God had descended - to Mount Sinai. But they were aware that he did not tarry long there; rather, once he had revealed himself to Moses and gave the Law and set down the commandments and fixed the judgments, etc.,[1] he hid his revelation and returned again to his place. And after he revealed himself to Isaiah, etc., he returned again to his place. So also when he revealed himself to Adam and his companion in Paradise and let them hear the sound of his feet and steps, and judged and condemned, etc.,[2] he returned to his place. So also ~~before~~ after he completed the revelation to Abraham, speaking about the Sodomites, etc.,[3] he returned to his place. So (it was) also when he revealed himself to Ezekiel, and showed him that he sits upon a chariot, and the cherubim who cry out, etc.[4] But here it was not so. Rather, he descended and remained as man. And again, in these revelations to the prophets he descended dispensationally, but here (it was) in person, etc. And therefore when the angels saw that this revelation did not resemble those, either in appearance or time or kind or order or aspect, but was a new thing in every respect, they wondered greatly. Therefore it was necessary that this mystery and this descent and revelation should be revealed first to Gabriel, and that through him all the other angels should learn of it, that he now was descending not as (in) former revelations, and not for short periods, but was descending in person, and inside a womb conversing with men, being numbered with infants, enduring sufferings, and continuing (as a man) for the space of years, etc. The angels wondered exceedingly at these things. They longed, as one of the Apostles said, to gaze on the mysteries which were hidden in these things.[5] These (angels), when it was made known to them, at the time when they saw (it), that he was born, cried out, "Glory to God in the heavens".[6]

The angels cried out and divided up their hymns - The "glory", that is, they specified for this birth, since they considered it a wonder that God became man; the "peace", that is when he bound the

1. Ex 19.19ff. etc.
2. Gn 2.8, 14ff.
3. Gn 18.16ff.
4. Ez 1, Ben S 49.8.
5. 1 Pt 1.12.
6. Lk 2.14.

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1 ולא. ובוא בשפיכת דמו. שהרי לנפיכת דמים הוצרך שהרי כתוב בו ושפך דם האדם. ולא
בשפיכת דמו. שהרי כתוב בו ושפך דם האדם. ולא בשפיכת דמו. שהרי כתוב בו ושפך
דם האדם. ולא בשפיכת דמו. שהרי כתוב בו ושפך דם האדם. ולא בשפיכת דמו. שהרי
5 כתוב בו ושפך דם האדם. ולא בשפיכת דמו. שהרי כתוב בו ושפך דם האדם. ולא
בשפיכת דמו. שהרי כתוב בו ושפך דם האדם. ולא בשפיכת דמו. שהרי כתוב בו ושפך
דם האדם. ולא בשפיכת דמו. שהרי כתוב בו ושפך דם האדם. ולא בשפיכת דמו. שהרי
כתוב בו ושפך דם האדם. ולא בשפיכת דמו. שהרי כתוב בו ושפך דם האדם. ולא
10 בשפיכת דמו. שהרי כתוב בו ושפך דם האדם. ולא בשפיכת דמו. שהרי כתוב בו ושפך
דם האדם. ולא בשפיכת דמו. שהרי כתוב בו ושפך דם האדם. ולא בשפיכת דמו. שהרי
כתוב בו ושפך דם האדם. ולא בשפיכת דמו. שהרי כתוב בו ושפך דם האדם. ולא
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15 דם האדם. ולא בשפיכת דמו. שהרי כתוב בו ושפך דם האדם. ולא בשפיכת דמו. שהרי
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For once before they had come to know that God had descended - to Mount Sinai. But they were aware that he did not tarry long there; rather, once he had revealed himself to Moses and gave the Law and set down the commandments and fixed the judgments, etc.,[1] he hid his revelation and returned again to his place. And after he revealed himself to Isaiah, etc., he returned again to his place. So also when he revealed himself to Adam and his companion in Paradise and let them hear the sound of his feet and steps, and judged and condemned, etc.,[2] he returned to his place. So also ~~before~~ after he completed the revelation to Abraham, speaking about the Sodomites, etc.,[3] he returned to his place. So (it was) also when he revealed himself to Ezekiel, and showed him that he sits upon a chariot, and the cherubim who cry out, etc.[4] But here it was not so. Rather, he descended and remained as man. And again, in these revelations to the prophets he descended dispensationally, but here (it was) in person, etc. And therefore when the angels saw that this revelation did not resemble those, either in appearance or time or kind or order or aspect, but was a new thing in every respect, they wondered greatly. Therefore it was necessary that this mystery and this descent and revelation should be revealed first to Gabriel, and that through him all the other angels should learn of it, that he now was descending not as (in) former revelations, and not for short periods, but was descending in person, and inside a womb conversing with men, being numbered with infants, enduring sufferings, and continuing (as a man) for the space of years, etc. The angels wondered exceedingly at these things. They longed, as one of the Apostles said, to gaze on the mysteries which were hidden in these things.[5] These (angels), when it was made known to them, at the time when they saw (it), that he was born, cried out, "Glory to God in the heavens".[6]

The angels cried out and divided up their hymns - The "glory", that is, they specified for this birth, since they considered it a wonder that God became man; the "peace", that is when he bound the

1. Ex 19.19ff. etc.
2. Gn 2.8, 14ff.
3. Gn 18.16ff.
4. Ez 1, Ben S 49.8.
5. 1 Pt 1.12.
6. Lk 2.14.

ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲉⲡⲓⲥⲧⲟⲗⲏ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲡⲟⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲇⲁⲥⲕⲁⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲟⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲕⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓ

mighty (Satan) in the wilderness and spoiled his possessions then angels drew near and served him - i.e. praised him; the "hope", that is, because he suffered and died and rose and gave men the hope of resurrection. By the holy Mar John. While the angel spoke to me, (others) shouted, "Glory to God in the heavens".

That is, even though he descended to earth and became incarnate, yet he was in the highest heavens, unconfined. And therefore, as though he were on his throne in the heavens they stand and cry out to him, "Glory in the heavens". "And on earth peace": that is, there was a war between God and men - as it is said, "My spirit shall not dwell in men forever"[1] - and this war was ended.

For the angel who announced his conception worshipped him when he saw him in the womb, as he was accustomed to worshipping him upon the throne. For he did not change his worship, because the nature of him who was to be worshipped was not changed. How could God the Word become flesh while he did not change? (Answer:) for it is written, "The Lord does as he wishes".[2] And it is written, "There is no one who may make accusation against his hand and say to him, 'What are you doing?'" etc.[3] Him whom the angels did not see when he was descending, men saw when he was born. And him whom spiritual ranks were not capable of looking at while he passed among them, infants saw when he crawled. And where he was supposed to be revealed, he hid himself, and where he was supposed to be hidden he revealed himself. Where he was a spirit, he did not reveal himself to spiritual beings, and where he became flesh he revealed himself to spiritual and fleshly beings. So his revelation astonished those in the heights and those in the depths. (It astonished) bodily beings because they did not know him and the (properties) which he had, and they learned both of them by (his) becoming man; those on high knew that he was God, etc., but that he was such a lover of man and so merciful, and that he had such goodness, they came to know by his becoming man. He loved them more than himself, in that he became man that he might make

1. Gn 6.3. 2. Ps 115.3. 3. Is 45.9.

ולא יעבד בהם. ויעבדו את עמלק ואת עמלקיותיהם ולא : ויהיו
ישבו לבטח מלא ויהיו[1] בתוכם. ואין עמלק אחד ואין
שלום : ושלום בין. אחד זה : עמלק ועמלק לעתיד לבוא אחד בעולם
:כתיב הכא כתיב התם

ויהי בשלח פרעה את העם ולא נחם אלהים דרך ארץ פלשתים
כי קרוב הוא .. ויסב אלהים את העם דרך מדבר ים סוף וחמשים
עלו בני ישראל (מארץ מצרים) ביד רמה. ביד גלוי לעיני כל. ויהי
כשלח פרעה את העם : בזמן שהוא מוליכן בדרך הקרובה שהיא
מהלכת ג' ימים : נחם אלהים שהיה יודע בחולשתן של ישראל
שאין יכולין לעמוד במלחמה. ואפילו נחמיה כמה שהוא
מרחם עליהן ויש לו לומר לפני המקום. ויאמר. ויאמרו זה לזה
ואם ישובו. שיהיו ישראל נוחמין על שיצאו. ויש מרבותינו
שיהיו מצפין ומקוין שיחזרו בתשובה. ויאמרו. ויאמרו זה לזה
שיהיו ישראל אומרים. ויסב. שהקיפם ענן כבוד מארבע רוחות
העולם. ויעל. שהיה עולה ומגביה. ויבא בין. שהיה בא ועומד
ביניהם. ויהי. שהיה חושך לאלו ואור לאלו. ולא. שלא קרב
זה אל זה כל הלילה. ויהי. שהיה מאיר לישראל כיום. ויבא
בין. שהיה בא ועומד ביניהם. ויהי. שהיה חושך לאלו ואור
לאלו. ולא. שלא קרב זה אל זה כל הלילה. ויהי. שהיה מאיר
לישראל כיום. ויבא בין. שהיה בא ועומד ביניהם. ויהי. שהיה
חושך לאלו ואור לאלו. ולא. שלא קרב זה אל זה כל הלילה.
ויהי. שהיה מאיר לישראל כיום

flesh all motion toward dishonourable lust, and from the soul every impulse running toward sin - and should give healing to the sick nature by means of actions, and not by means of teachings transmitted from without.

When Mary received God the Word she did not perceive it, but when she gave him birth, she suffered on his account like other women. For it was God (whom) Mary received, and God incarnate to whom she gave birth; it was not in the same way she received that she gave birth.

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them gods. He suffered on their behalf that they might escape from sufferings. So then, it was necessary that he should become incarnate, that he might have hands to clasp us, arms to embrace us, lips to kiss us, a tongue to speak with us, ears to hear us in his love kindly, eyes to look upon us peacefully, legs to run after each one of us - and the other (ways) in which he engaged himself with us. He emptied himself without emptying himself, and he became a man without being changed. Scripture affirms of the Son that he created the Creation: "Through him everything was and everything in heaven and in earth" etc.,[1] because heretics were going to blaspheme especially against the Son. And because of this it affirmed of the Son that he created the creatures, that from this the equality of (his) nature with the Father might be understood, and that their operation is one. And so that the Father might not be supposed to be greater than the Son because he begot(him) or because he was accounted first, or because of (the Son's) becoming man, it attributed to him the creation of the creatures. (The angel said) "Our Lord is with you "[2] because of two reasons: first, indicating that he was Lord not of the one angel who announced his conception alone but of all the angels; second, that he was Lord of all the works he had created.

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1. Col 1.16. 2. Lk 1.28.

ܡܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܒܪܝ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܪܝ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܒ

Rather, she received the Word and gave birth to flesh; she received (him as) spirit, and gave birth to him embodied; she received the Son of the Eternal, and gave birth to a son of humanity; she received the hidden one and gave birth to the manifest one; she received him who is above time, and gave birth to one subject to beginning; she received one equal to the Father, and gave birth to one in the likeness of Adam; she received the Lord, and gave birth to a servant; she received him as the son of a king, and gave birth to him as one who pays poll-tax;[1] she received the nourisher, and gave birth to him as one who is nourished; she received him who is perfect, and gave birth to him as one who grows; she received the giver of the Law, and gave birth to a keeper of the Law; she received the God of Abraham and David, and gave birth to a son of Abraham and a son of David; she received the one without a mother, and gave birth to him as one without a father;[2] she received him who commands the spiritual hosts, and gave birth to one who obeys bodily parents; she received the Wisdom of God, and gave birth to him as one who inquires and learns; she received him whose generation is untold,[3] and gave birth to him as one who is inscribed in the genealogies. The Spirit entered her and she did not perceive it; someone of flesh came forth from her and she suffered at his birth. But as regards each of these that have been mentioned, he remained unchanged. Two miracles: first, that he became these things; second, that he remained unchanged even though he became (them).

He was born in Bethlehem, which means "House of Bread", because he is the heavenly bread and giver of life to those who receive him. His going forth is from the Beginning;[4] i.e., before his going forth

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1. Mt 17.24-27.
2. Cf. Heb 7.3 of Melchizedek.
3. Is 53.8.
4. Micah 5.2 Pe.

ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܕܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܝܬ ܚܪܝܬܐ ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܝܬ ܚܪܝܬܐ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܒܝܬ ܚܪܝܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ

from this Bethlehem, he had a going forth without commencement. For his going forth was from the Beginning, that is, the being of the Father. Many kings went forth from Bethlehem, and the first of all was David, and after him all those who derived from him and sat on his throne. And while <only he was>[1] born there, those too who went forth from there, even though they were not born within it, were said to have been born there and to have gone forth from there. And probably it was because of this, i.e. that at the end he was to rise and come forth from there and be born there, that the word was written about them all. But because there were many kings who, in keeping with the word that was said, "went forth from Bethlehem", let the prophet, who knew the mystery preeminently, reveal to us about whom he spoke. For he did not say "has gone forth", but "will go forth". So it was about him who was born there today (that) he said, "He will tend my people Isreael" etc.[2] All the kings who were born of David were anointed and sat on a throne, and they won victories, and there were righteous men among them, and sages. But about all these the prophet was silent, and about this one only did he say, "He will rule my people Israel" etc. All the kings who were born of David <. . .>[3] this one who was poorly born in a cave and in a manger and in swaddling-cloths, etc. And he left those who are glorious with thrones and purple (robes) and horses, etc. His glory is from within, for he is from heaven, and by grace he came forth from Bethlehem by emptying himself.

The prophet David said this to him, "Thy throne, O God, is to all eternity" etc.;[4] eternally the kingdom over all is his as God. He was not glorified because he was born in the city of kings, but (rather)

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1. MSS: he was only.
2. Micah 5.2.
3. A line has apparently dropped out.
4. Ps 45.6.

ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܠܡܪܝ ܒܝܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܠܡܪܝ ܒܝܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܠܡܪܝ ܒܝܬܐ
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܠܡܪܝ ܒܝܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܠܡܪܝ ܒܝܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܠܡܪܝ ܒܝܬܐ
ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܠܡܪܝ ܒܝܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܠܡܪܝ ܒܝܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܠܡܪܝ ܒܝܬܐ
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܠܡܪܝ ܒܝܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܠܡܪܝ ܒܝܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܠܡܪܝ ܒܝܬܐ

having been born there he glorified it and all the kings who came from it. It is not because he received the kingdom of David that he was recognized as king, but (rather) he showed the kingdom of David to be a glorious thing.

They came to Bethlehem outwardly in order to be enrolled with the others. But dispensationally he entered Bethlehem as it was written. For prophecy revealed beforehand where he would be born, i.e. in Bethlehem, but it did not reveal where he would be conceived, i.e. in Nazareth. And God intentionally did not mention this, to show that he is not subject to the Law or to limitation concerning these things.

First, he was conceived in Nazareth, in the quarter of the Gentiles, so that the circumcised and the Jews might not boast. His conception was announced among the uncircumcised as it is written, "Galilee of the Gentiles" etc.[1] Nazareth is located in Galilee. Second, (it was) also that it might not seem that he was like one of the other kings who came from Bethlehem, but rather that his kingdom is from heaven "and he would be called the Son of God".[2] I.e., the Son is none other than he of whom John said that he "became flesh".[3] His conception was announced first where the sickness of sin had superabounded, that he might heal those who were sick.

He was contained in a womb, he whom Creation does not contain. And he was confined inside a womb, he whom the world does not confine. A woman's womb is sufficient for him, for him for whom only the being of ~~God~~ the Father is sufficient.

So when we hear of the birth and the Virgin and the swaddling-

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1. Is 5.1, Mt 4.15. 2. Lk 1.35. 3. Jn 1.14.

ܫܘܪܝܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܘܪܝ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܘܪܝ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܘܪܝ

cloths, and all these (elements) of the human dispensation, let us not be ashamed of anything. For there is nothing that is unclean before God, even if it appears so to us. Rather, he does not partake of our uncleanness, as too the sun does not take from the things over which it passes, but actually gives of its purity. But worship in the same way both the former and bodiless birth, and the second and filthless one, as something excellent.

And because of the festival we have of the bodily birth of Christ, and the New Creation, and the restoration to the former Adam, let us go first, exulting, to meet him, like John from the womb,[1] and like David before the Ark of the Lord.[2] Let us stand in awe too of the enrollment by which we have been enrolled in heaven. Let us worship the birth through which and by which we have been loosed from the bonds of the birth of sin. Let us do honour to little Bethlehem, who has restored us to Paradise and former felicity. And let us bow down to the manger because of which, when we were not able to speak, we were nourished by the Word of Life. And with the shepherds let us praise; with the angels let us sing, so that it may be a universal festival of the hosts both heavenly and earthly. For these too are exulting and rejoicing today, whether as friends of man or friends of God, like those whom David introduces after the Passion, who ascend with Christ and go before and meet and command to each other the raising of the gates.[3] Let us hasten, again, with the star and with the Magi, and in their fashion let us bring honours - gold and myrrh and frankincense, as to a king and as to God and as to one dead on our account. Let us go on their heels and let us make the long journey, so that we

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1. Lk 1.41. 2. 2 Sam 6.14. 3. Ps 24.7,9.

ܟܠܗ ܀ ܡܫܬܡܫܢ ܘܐܡ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܗ ܟܠܡܐ. ܐܦ ܟܕ ܡܫܬܡܫ ܒܗ ܟܠ 1
ܡܕܡ ܕܐܡ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܗ ܟܠܡܐ. ܕܐܦ ܟܕ ܡܫܬܡܫ ܒܗ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܀
ܐܦ ܟܕ ܡܫܬܡܫ ܒܗ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܀ ܐܠܐ ܟܕ ܡܫܬܡܫ ܒܗ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ

may see Christ. For neither would the Magi have been able to see him if they had not travelled great distances. For as long as they were in Persia, they saw only the star. Let us too be like them, O brethren! When everyone rages against us, let us go where we may meet Christ. And if kings and if rulers seek to hinder this journey, let us not let our love be hindered. For thus we prevail over all the trials that rise up against us. Nor were the Magi preserved from dread until they saw the child. Before they saw him - dreads and terrors, and after they saw him - peace and security. And instead of the star, they were accepted (in charge) by an angel. So let us too leave the vanity and trouble of the world, and make haste to Bethlehem, which is the house of spiritual bread.

Time is too short for me to recount the care of the mercies of God to us, and the gifts and favours which have been given to us today, and the fulfilment of the hidden mysteries of prophecy which today by the birth of Christ have been fulfilled. For today, everything has come into being that was prefigured in the Law and predicted in the Prophets. For today has appeared the stone cut without hands, as the text of Daniel (says), and it has struck the image, the work of the hands of man.[1] For this is Christ, he who was born without sexual union and who by his birth destroyed all the images of the hostile powers. Today has been born to David a son, who sits at the right hand, and Isaiah said, "A child has been born to us and a son has been given to us".[2] Today the Lord has shone forth on earth[3] and has illuminated the world from its extremity. Today the bread of life has gone forth in Bethlehem of Judah. Today

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1. Dn 2.34. 2. Is 9.6. 3. Is 60.1.

ܐ ܘܐܬܝܗܒܘ HP text CL^{vid}. ‖ ‖ ‖

the wind is in fists and fingers, and the waters are depicted on a veil.[1] Today has appeared the gate which is closed and the Lord who enters by it,[2] this being Mary, who gave birth to Christ without sexual union. Today the rain has come down on the fleece[3] and the grass has sprung up[4] in the cave, this being Christ, who gently and humbly appeared to men. Today a rod has gone forth and a shoot has sprung from the stem of Jesse,[5] and a plant has sprouted from the dry ground[6] (of) Mary. Today the Virgin has given birth to the "mighty man of the ages",[7] and his name was called Wonderful, because he was ineffable, and the Father of the World to Come. Today a tree has borne a ram,[8] fruit not of its nature, this being the Virgin Mary who bore Christ in her arms - without sexual union. Today out of darkness light has shone forth to all peoples,[9] this being Christ, the true light who was born in the flesh and amazed all creatures. For today are fulfilled the symbols and figures of prophecy through Christ, their perfecter and finisher, him to whom be glory, with his Father and his living and Holy Spirit, now and always and to all ages. Amen.

And next, words suitable for the festival. He without flesh becomes incarnate; the Word materializes; the invisible makes himself seen; the untouchable is touched; the timeless one makes a beginning; the Son of God becomes a son of man. "All you peoples, clap (your) hands, and praise with a voice of praise",[10] because "a child has been born to us, and a son has been given to us", he whose "dominion is upon his shoulder"[11]

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1. Pr 30.4.
2. Ez 44.2.
3. Ps 72.6 LXX & Pe.
4. Ps 72.16.
5. Is 11.1.
6. Is 53.2.
7. Is 9.6 Pe.
8. Gn 22.13.
9. Is 9.2.
10. Ps 47.1.
11. Is 9.6.

C33a
P25b1
C33b
P25b2
LIBA

1 + ܟܬܒܐ L. 2 ܐܡܪ CP. 3 +sey L. 4 ܐܠܐ C^{a}H. 5 > P. 6 ܟܬܒܬ H.
7 ܟܬܒܘܬܐ CP. 8 ܟܬܒܝܬ L. 9 > L. 10 +ܗ L. 11 ܟܬܒܐ H.

and whose "name is called Messenger of the Great Mind",[1] that of the Father. With the angels let us praise; with the archangels let us sing praise; let the ~~festival~~ commemoration be shared by earthly beings and by the heavenly hosts. For I am persuaded that they too are rejoicing with us and celebrating today together (with us), whether as friends of ~~God~~ man or as friends of ~~men~~ God, like those whom David introduces after the Passion, who ascend with Christ and go before and meet and command to each other the raising of the gates.[2]

For he is unsearchable; the mouth does not comprehend him; the tongue is frightened of him; the word cannot contain him; inquiry does not apprehend him. Let the learned man be silent; let the debater hold his peace; let the inquirer shut his mouth; let the wise man be stupefied; let the philosopher be dazzled because the principles of nature are dissolved. A great wonder and a miracle has happened today: it is God who has become man, the Creator who has been created, the eternal who has become subject to time, the incorporeal who has become embodied, the spiritual one who has become incarnate, the infinite one who has limited himself by flesh, the invisible one who has made himself seen. We are preaching to you him who was from the Beginning, etc., the fire that was wrapped in swaddling-cloths, the flame that was placed on the knees, the fiery coal that was embraced on the breast. He was carried on knees, while cherubim carried him; he was taken up in arms, while he held the whole world in his right hand, etc. Let human nature rejoice on account of these things: transgression is forgotten; the sentence is annulled; the debt is paid; the indenture is torn up; Paradise is opened; the cherub guard is dismissed; driven-out Adam is restored; naked Eve is covered; the serpent, the malicious one, is crushed; deceitful

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1. Ibid. LXX. 2. Ps 24.7,9.

ܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܪܝ ܒܫܘܪܝܐ ܕܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܚܛܝܬܐ ܐܝ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܚܛܝܬܐ

Satan is laid bare; the high bow of death is broken (and removed) from mankind.

Today from the depth men sing praises. From among the luminaries, the star hastens unwontedly. From the East the Magi hasten. From the West the Promised Land is agitated. From the South, Egypt is eager to meet him. From the North angels are preparing his worship. From the field, the shepherds are praising. From the earth, the cave is adorned and laid out. From legions and luminaries (come) praises, from the seas, gold (for) gifts, from trees, myrrh and frankincense. Today the angels are rejoicing and the archangels are praising. Principalities are lauding. Today dominions are singing praise. Powers, all the more, are serving the heavenly king. Lordships are the more confessing his lordship. Today thrones well satisfy his will. Cherubim are blessing; seraphim are pouring out cries of "Holy", because the enmity between heavenly things and earthly things has been dissolved, and they praise on earth. Again, they are rejoicing over the one sinner, human nature, who is repenting.[1]

Do not stop with the flesh that is visible; see the deity that is hidden in it. He is not only in the manger, but on the chariot of the Cherubim, not only in the cave, but also in everything infinitely, not in Bethlehem only but also in heaven, not in the land of Judah alone, but also among the Persians and Nubians and in everything infinitely - to whom be glory and honour and power with his Father and his Holy Spirit to (all) ages. Amen.

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1. Lk 15.7.

1 [illegible] 1

P26a2 | [illegible] 2 [illegible] 3 [illegible] 4 [illegible]

[illegible] 5

C53b |[illegible] 8

C34b H33b [illegible] 6 [illegible] 7 [illegible]

[illegible] 9 [illegible] 10 [illegible] 10

10 [illegible]

P26b2 [illegible]

L18a [illegible] 11

1 [illegible] H. 1-1 [illegible]

2 + [illegible] L. 3 [illegible] H. 4 [illegible] (sic)C_1. 5 >H. 6 [illegible] H.

7 + [illegible] $(C_2)H$ [illegible] P. 8 C_1^{mg} > LR text C_2HP. 9 [illegible] H. 10-10 P^a.

11 HPC_2+[illegible] (H[illegible]) [illegible] [illegible] ([illegible]) [illegible] (C_2 [illegible]) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Next, eighteen chapters on the holy festival of the birth of Our Lord, by the same Moše bar Kepha, bishop of Beth Râman. First chapter, on the transgression of Adam. And we say, because Adam transgressed the commandment, human nature was subjected to these three enemies: to the Devil, I mean, and to sin and to death. And therefore it was necessary for someone to save it from them. Our Lord came and saved it from them. And this, through God, we interpret in (the chapters) lying ahead.

Second chapter: why God came for our salvation and became man, and did not send another. And we say, because of many proofs. One, because man would not have benefitted from the coming of another besides him, just as the Israelites did not benefit from the miracles which Moses performed. Second, because human nature could not have been delivered from these three enemies by another or through another except by the one who created it.[1] Third, again, God came for our salvation to unite himself (to us) and mix his body with our bodies, and sanctify them, and that we should be his members and he our head, as the blessed Paul said - (God) having uprooted our sin, purified our error, and lightened our darkness.[2] Fourth, that he might show us the riches of his kindness,

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1. HPC add: (It is) just like something glass: if it is broken, a mason cannot (re-)construct it, nor a carpenter, nor a blacksmith, but only the glass-blower who is its craftsman and its artificer. So also a gold vessel: if it is broken, the goldsmith, its craftsman, repairs it, and not another craftsman. And thus a potter's vessel (goes) to a potter. And (it is) just like an earthly king who sends to the territories administered and settled by him: he does not let them serve another, but visits them, sometimes by written (documents) and sometimes by means of his servants, (or) if the matter calls for it goes to them in person and sets to rights the things they could not set to rights. So also the Father has done, who has sent to us the prophets, and we obeyed neither their writings nor the angels. At last he sent his beloved Son to us, and he came to be from a woman that we might become sons of God. These explanations were asked for (to show why) God the Word should come on account of our salvation and be born from a woman.

2. Cf. Eph 4.15-16, 5.30, 1 Cor 12.27, etc.

ايه كے ہاتھ۔ مطلب يہ ہے كہ ميرا كام ہے ميرے رب كا پيغام پہنچانا : اور ميں تم كو 1
ميرا رب تو ہوا اور تمہارا رب بھى۔ پھر ہم ہر كسى كے ساتھ اس كے مناسب حال
كيا كرتے ہيں۔ اور ہم نے ہر كسى كو اس كے مناسب حال ہى ديا ہے : اور
ہمارا كام صرف پيغام پہنچا دينا ہے۔ پھر اگر تم ہمارى بات نہ مانو تو ہم 5
H34a تمہارا| ذمہ دار نہيں ہيں۔ ہمارى[1] اور تمہارى مثال بالكل ايسى ہے :
جيسے كسى ملك ميں دو حاكم ہوں : ايك حاكم كى رعايا كے لوگ اس كے
C35a ساتھ : اور دوسرا حاكم : جبكہ اس كى رعايا| ميں سے كچھ لوگ اس كے
ساتھ ہوں۔ پھر جب[2] ايسے[3] دو حاكموں ميں سے ہر ايك اپنى رعايا
P61a1 كو| حكم بھيجے اور ہر ايك كا حكم دوسرے كے حكم كے خلاف ہو۔ تو 10
C54b ايسى حالت ميں رعايا كے لوگ كس كا حكم مانيں اور كس كا نہ مانيں۔
ايسى صورت ميں ہر ايك حاكم كى رعايا كے لوگ اپنے اپنے حاكم كا حكم
مانيں گے اور اس كے ساتھ ہو جائيں گے۔ پھر جب[4] ايسے دو حاكموں
C35a ميں : اور دوسرا : جبكہ اس كى رعايا| ميں سے كچھ لوگ اس كے
H34a ساتھ ہوں۔ تو[5] ان[6] كى رعايا كے لوگوں كو كس كا حكم ماننا چاہيے۔ 15
L19b |۔ ميرے كے حاكم كى رعايا كے لوگ اس كے ساتھ ہو جائيں گے۔ ايسى حالت
ميں تو ہر ايك حاكم كى رعايا كے لوگ اس كے ساتھ ہو جائيں گے۔ اور
C35b ايسے[8] ہى[7] موقعوں پر ہميشہ| سے ہى ہوتا رہا ہے۔ اسى طرح
ہمارے اور تمہارے درميان ہے۔ ہم تم كو اس كے سوا كچھ نہيں كہتے
كہ ہم تم كو اللہ كى طرف بلاتے ہيں۔ اور اللہ كى طرف بلانے كا مطلب 20
يہ ہے كہ تم اللہ كى ہستى كو اور اس كى صفات كو اور اس كے حقوق كو
6.2

1 رعاياكم L. 2 cl^{sg}. 3 ايسے $C_{1\&2}$P. 4 +say H. 5+اگر L.
6-6 >H. 7-7 P^{a}. 8-8 >H.

more than (at) that former (event) when he brought us from non-existence to existence. Just as a man, a king, who has a poor friend, etc. Fifth, again, because men held to the worship of something seen, such as the sun and the moon and the other idols, God came and united himself to flesh and was seen and touched in the flesh, as John the Evangelist says in his epistle.[1] And thus men should worship the true and real God, who was seen in the flesh. Sixth, just as a man who has made a feast, when he sends his son after the guests honours them more than if he should send a servant after them, so too the Father has made a banquet: that is, he has prepared the Kingdom for human nature. And when he wished to honour them especially, he sent his Son to call them. And he came and took flesh and called them; as Paul said, "God sent his Son and he came to be from a woman".[2] Seventh, so that men would have no reason (as) when an angel or a prophet is sent to them to deliver them, to receive the salvation and attribute it to created things, as the Israelites did. For when God used to send them a saviour they would attribute their salvation and set it down to idols, just as when he sent Moses and he delivered them from Egypt, they made themselves a calf and said, "This is the god who has delivered us from Egypt".[3]

Third chapter: why God, when he came for our salvation, was born of a woman, and did not make a body for himself as he made for Adam.

And we say, for these (reasons). One, to dissolve what was decreed about woman, that "in distresses shall you bear children".[4] Second, to beget us by baptism, spiritually, supernaturally, as he was born from a woman supernaturally. Third, again, to reveal to us about his eternal

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1. 1 Jn 1.1. 2. Gal 4.4. 3. Ex 32.4.
4. Gn 3.16.

ומה שאמרו שהיה מתחיל בבית שמאי ומסיים בבית הלל.

nativity from the Father, that if he was born bodily without a father here, how much more we should believe that he was born from the Father eternally and divinely without a mother then. And again, (it was) so that men might not hate the nature of females and say that an (ordinary) nativity is something unclean.

Fourth chapter: why the Son was born and not the Father or the Holy Spirit. And we say, for these (reasons). One, so that the properties of the hypostases of the Holy Trinity might not be infringed. As to how, attend. The Father's property is begetting, the Son's property is being begotten, and the Spirit's is proceeding. And that the Father should be born, who is the Begetter, and whose property is begetting, would not be suitable. So neither (would it be for) the Holy Spirit, who is the Proceeder and whose property is proceeding. But it was right that he should take flesh and be born who was the Son, the Begotten, and whose property is being begotten. So it is suitable that the Begotten should be born, and not the Begetter or the Proceeder. Second, we say, God the Word was born from the Father as a word of ours is born from the mind. And just as a man's word is written on paper and embodied in it and sent to far-off places, and not the mind which begot it nor the spirit which proceeded from it (sc. from the mind), so it is God the Word who was embodied and became man and completed (that) dispensation which (involved) the flesh, and not God the Father who begot him, who is the Great Mind and the Incomparable, nor the Spirit who proceeds from him.

Fifth chapter: in what way God the Word was born, divinely or humanly, according to the law of nature or above the law of nature. And we say, both of them. He was born divinely, above the law of nature, in that he

1 ... ...

was conceived without seed, and in that he was born while the tokens (of virginity) of her who bore him were preserved. He was born humanly and according to the law of nature, in that he was conceived in the womb nine months.

Sixth chapter: the objection of pagans and heretics. "If God descended", they say, "to a womb and united himself to flesh, he was defiled and sullied". And we say, not at all! And this is clear from these proofs. One, in that he is near to those who are created in the womb, whether men or whether irrational animals, in that he creates them there in the womb and he puts together their members. And while he is near them and creates them, he does not defile himself. Again, he is near to places dirty and clean, because he is everywhere infinitely, and he does not defile himself from the dirty places. And just as when he is near these he does not defile himself, so also when he was conceived in the womb and united himself to flesh he did not defile himself. Second, there is nothing unclean in our nature; otherwise it would not have been created by him at the start: God did not create anything unclean. And so (this applies) throughout creation.[1] Therefore when he united himself to flesh he did not defile himself. Third, again, there is nothing unclean except sin alone, which is not a created thing but the lack of good things, or disobedience. Therefore, when he united himself to flesh, which was a created thing, he did not defile himself.[2] And just as a man who is of soul and body is said to be one nature and one person - while the soul has not been changed to body and the body has not turned into soul - and one humanity, so also the Word of God naturally and

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1. I.e., not merely to its beginning.

2. H adds the text on the next page, n.2.

ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܥܠ ܫܡܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܡܥܡܕܢܐ ܒܡ ܫܡܐ ܕܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܠܟ ܫܠܡ ܘܫܠܡ ܠܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܘܠܥܠܡܝ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܘ

hypostatically united himself to our humanity without change, as a miracle. Neither, indeed, is a woman capable of giving birth to a bare and unembodied human soul. But when it becomes something compounded and united by a matter of natural union, she gives birth to him with a body. And so <she is said>[1] to be the mother not of the flesh alone but of a rational man. And thus it is to be understood also concerning the birth of the Son of God: he was not defiled when he became man, and he was said to be in one nature and (to be) one person and one Son. Fourth, spiritual beings are too exalted to be defiled by bodily ones. For when an angel passes through dirty places, he does not take (anything) from their uncleanness. And neither, when he passes through places of pleasant odour, does he take (anything) from the pleasantness of their odour. So also (is it the case with) the human soul when it is something bare of flesh. And if angels and souls are thus, how much more is the creator of these, even though he united himself to flesh. Fifth, even among bodily beings there are various ones who pass through dirty places and do not derive (anything) from their dirtiness, such as the sun: when it passes over dirty places it not only does not derive (anything) from their dirtiness but actually purifies them.[2] And just as fire when it is united to matter does not take (anything) from its filthiness and from its darkness, so neither did God derive (anything) from the dirtiness of flesh when he was united to it. Rather, he purified the womb in which

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1. MSS: he is said. HPC_2: he is said to be the father...

2. CLP add: And just as honey is considered something bitter by those with the disease of jaundice - which it (is) not by its nature but which to them is recognized as such because of their condition - so also "everything which the Lord does is good and excellent", says Scripture. And those who err say the opposite of these things.

ملاحظة مكتوبة بخط مختلف. ربما من يد أخرى.

he abode, and sanctified it, and also the flesh to which he was united. Sixth, how can there be uncleanness with these: the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, the demise of lust, the farness-away from seed, the Virgin pure and holy in soul and in body?

Seventh chapter: their objection that if he dwelt in a womb and was united to flesh, he was changed and altered and debased. And we say, no! And this is clear from these (considerations). First, just as he was not changed and not altered and not debased when he created our nature at the start, so neither (was he) when he united himself to it to save it. And as he did not become small and did not become base when he ministered to it, more than (any) servants - with days, with nights, and with rains, with dews, with storms, with summers, and with the revolutions of the sun and moon and stars, etc. - so neither (did he) when he united himself to it to save it. Second, just as fire when it is united to iron is not altered and not changed from its nature, neither is the soul when it is united to flesh, and so neither (was) he when he united himself to flesh.

Eighth chapter: their objection, "If he descended", they say, "to a womb and dwelt in it, he was limited within the womb". And we say, not at all! And it is clear from these reasons. One, for he is infinite, and is not limited: neither by word, nor by thought nor by action, nor by nature, nor by place nor by time, nor indeed by any of the kinds of limitations. Second, he is above the world, and below the world, inside the world and outside the world infinitely. Third, again, when he abode in the womb he did not leave his unlimitedness, but was in the bosom of his Father, and was in all this (whole universe) infinitely, and was,

ܕܫܘܬܐ ܕܒܥܝܢ ܡܕܡ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܥܠ. ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܗ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܥܝܢ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܐܝ ܠܗ ܒܥܠ 1
ܡܫܟܚ ܠܗ ܒܥܠ ܕܒܥܝܢ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܐܝ ܠܗ ܒܥܠ ܕܫܘܬܐ ܕܒܥܝܢ ܡܕܡ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܥܠ. ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܗ ܡܕܡ

again, in the womb of the Virgin infinitely - just as the rays of the sun, which are in the sphere, and are in heaven, on earth, in the air, on the sea, on the dry land, and even in the house which they enter by a window. Fourth, while he is in the Virgin's womb, he was in heaven, on earth, in the air, on the seas, in dry (places), with his Father, on the chariot of the cherubim, and was governing all, just as before he was to abide in the womb. Fifth, again, when he united himself to flesh, he was not limited (by being) with the flesh, but remained unlimited, according to the proof of the beryl and the rays, etc.

Ninth chapter: their objection, "If God was born from a woman, he was born in passion and flux". And we say, no! And it is clear from these (considerations). First, when you hear about God's being born, only worship it and honour it in silence. Second, where God's being born is, passion and flux and all similar things are far away. Third, again, just as he was born of a virgin, something (both) by nature and above (it), so he was born both without passion and without flux. Fourth, compare the being born with the creating. And if he creates passionately, he was born passionately. But if he creates above passion, be was also born above passion. Compare the passion of the creating and of the being born, if you know (how)!

Tenth chapter: when his coming and his birth were of benefit, why they did not take place in former times. And we say, (there are) these proofs. One, why, when the creation of created things was of benefit, did he not create it thousands of generations and myriads of years before? But if you say, "At the right and particular time when it was expedient, he created", then so is this also. Second, (it is) just

C58b
C39a
ולמען תלך בדרכיך טובים ותשמר|ארחות צדיקים: כי ישרים ישכנו ארץ
ותמימים יותרו בה: ורשעים מארץ יכרתון ובוגדים ינתשו ממנה: צדיק
כאילן יפרח כארז בלבנון ישגה: שתולים בבית יהוה בחצרות אלהינו
יפריחו: עוד ינובון בשיבה דשנים ורעננים יהיו: להגיד כי ישר יהוה
צורי ולא עולתה בו: ואיש אל יתגאה ואל ירום לבו כי אין לו אלהים
C39b
כי אם יהוה לבדו: ואל יתהלל בחכמתו ואל יתהלל בגבורתו ובעשרו
C59a
כי אם בזאת יתהלל המתהלל השכל והדעת אותי: כי אני יהוה עושה
חסד משפט וצדקה בארץ כי באלה חפצתי נאם יהוה: ואיש אל יתגאה
H36b
|וכתוב בתורת משה[12] ישראל מאיש[13] ועד אשה[14] ומעבד[15] ועד
L22b
|ארור[16] משכיב עם בהמה[17] ואיש[18] משכב זכור תועבה[19]. וכתוב מפורש

1 -ה P. 2 + וכתוב C_1. 3 -ה L. 4 >H. 5 +ה L. 6 תלך C_2P.
7 >L. 8 ומזמרת L. 9 ותם L. 10 וכיוצא בה L. 11 +ה L.
12 >L. 13 + עד L. 14 + ועד P. 15 ומעבד L.

as a doctor, with the fever of an abscess, does not pierce it until all its festering is collected. And a gardener, at the moment when some thorns are sprouting and some are not, does not (uproot them), but(waits) until all of them are sprouting, and then uproots them. So also God the Word desisted until all the varieties of evil and of sin sprang up, and then came and uprooted them, and appointed the medicines of repentance. And with these things, a time for each matter is prescribed. Third, again, if it has happened that a small child strays, he is deserving of forgiveness in that he is not yet full-grown, but a man is not. So also human nature was a small child in former times, but afterwards it became of full-grown stature and finished[1] measurement. And therefore he did not come in former times, but he came latterly, to teach us the way of perfection by the Gospel, whether of knowledge or whether of practices. So when our nature reached the finished[1] state in later times, and became a full-grown man of full-grown stature, he came to give us the perfect way. Fourth, even though in later times he came and took flesh and was born, yet he preached to and benefitted those who were in former times. He preached to those from Adam until his death through his own soul when it entered Sheol - as Peter said, "He preached to the souls that were held in Sheol".[2] To those in his (own) time he preached through his own self. To those in the later times afterwards he preached through his apostles and the Gospel. So then his coming has benefitted all men from Adam until the end of the world, in that he has preached to them all.

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1. Or perfected. 2. 1 Pt 3.19 Pe.

1 P2862 | [1]حدث مكتوبة جاءت به ملك الحيرة. جاءت العلوم
: مكتوبة مقدمة كتبت مكتوبة جاءت من. مكتب عالمة
. مكتوبة جاءت هو مكتوب[2] معلومة مكتب عالمة الحيرة. كتبوه
الحيرة. مكتوبة مقدمة كتبت: تعلم ما عالمة هو مكتب في مكتبة
5 مكتوبة مقدمة كتبت مكتوبة جاءت مكتب
عالمة كتبت مكتوبة جاءت ملك الحيرة. جاءت العلوم
مكتب مكتب مكتوبة في كتبوا مكتبة جاءت كتبوا: كتبوه
10 P2863 مكتوبة كتبوه كتبوا | كتبت مكتبة جاء بمكتوبة. جاءت. كتبوه: ما هو
نحدث[3] مكتوبة. مكتوب مقدمة بكتبوه: تعلم كتبوه مكتبة مكتوبة
C5936 مكتوبة جاءت مكتب: مكتوبة[4] كل كتبت مكتب. جاءت مكتب هو[3] ما
. جاءت مكتوب ما هو ما جاءت. مكتوبة في كتبوا مكتبة جاءت به. مكتوب كتبت
P2861 ملك الحيرة. جاءت مكتب ما هو ما جاءت. جاءت كتبت[5] مكتوبة | مكتب كتبت
مكتب كتبت جاءت. مكتوبة مكتوبة كتبوه مكتوبة كتوبة: كتبوا في جاءت
15 في هو ما جاءت. تعلموا بجاءت مكتب جاءت[6] مقدمة مكتبة كتبت: مكتوبة
. في هو ما جاءت. تعلموا بجاءت مكتب جاءت مقدمة مكتبة كتبت
مكتب مكتبة جاءت. في مكتبة. مكتب هو هو ما جاءت مكتبة مكتب
ما. مكتوبة مقدمة مكتبة مكتوبة مكتب بجاءت. كتبوا كتبوا مكتبة مكتب
20 جاءت كتبت مكتبة مكتب. جاءت[7] مكتوبة مكتب
. تعلموا مكتبة مكتوبة: مكتب مكتبة هو مكتبة. كتبوه مكتبة بجاءت. مكتب
. مكتوبة جاءت مكتب مكتبة. بجاءت كتبوا جاءت مكتبة مكتوبة: مكتبة مكتب ما
مكتب مكتبة جاءت. في مكتب. مكتب هو هو ما جاءت مكتبة مكتب مكتبة
. في هو ما جاءت. تعلموا بجاءت مكتب جاءت[6] مقدمة مكتبة كتبت: مكتوبة

1 كتبت (sic) H. 2 + مكتبة erased H. 3-3 كل L. 4 >H. 5 مكتب H.
6 معلومة P. 7 مكتبة P.

Eleventh chapter: why, when Christ was born on the twenty-fourth of Kanun (I), we make a service and eucharist on the twenty-fifth. And we say, because Christ was born at the end of the day of the twenty-fourth. And therefore from the moment at which he was born and up until then[1] we make a service and a eucharist. And because of this, we make the service and the eucharist on the twenty-fifth.

Twelfth chapter: why he was born on the twenty-fifth of Kanun (I). And we say, because the light starts to detract from the darkness on this day.

Thirteenth chapter: on whether his birth and his baptism are one festival or not. And we say, (they are) two. For the Greeks know two festivals, and celebrate them on two separate and particular days. Indeed, Eusebius of Caesarea, in the treatise he made on the birth and on the epiphany of Our Lord, says:

> Thus the Greeks, he says, make a festival on the twenty-fifth of Kanun I, when the light begins to detract from the darkness, and they call it "the birthday of Our Lord". And they make a festival on the sixth of Kanun II and they call it "the epiphany-day of our Lord", because on it he was baptized by John, he was revealed and made known in "the acceptable year",[2] and he began to do mighty works and signs.

And the holy Theologian too says there are two festivals: the one, the festival of the birth, he names "the birthday, that is, the epiphany-day"; the latter, of the baptism, he calls "the festival of lights". Also the holy Mar Ephrem says in a hymn on the birth of Christ as follows:

> It is not, as it is said, "This is a festival of pagans
> Which the church has snatched from them". Lo, it has always made it.
> For no festival of snatching does the church of God make,
> And no festival of the sun, my brethren, does the church make in all generations,

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1. I.e. the same time the next day.
2. Lk 4.19.

1 مطلب اول. در بیان آنکه مقدار | حرکت مستقیم در جسم ثابت چگونه است

C40b

1 مقدار حرکت مستقیم در جسم ثابت آن است که جسم را | چند بار بگیرند در مقدار راه که در یک بار گرفته است.

L23a

4 مقدار حرکت مستقیم در جسم ثابت آن است که جسم را | چند بار بگیرند در مقدار راه که در یک بار گرفته است.

C60b

5 مقدار حرکت مستقیم در جسم ثابت آن است که جسم را | چند بار بگیرند در مقدار راه که در یک بار گرفته است.

P29b1

6 مقدار حرکت مستقیم در جسم ثابت آن است که جسم را | چند بار بگیرند در مقدار راه که در یک بار گرفته است.

C60a

7 مقدار حرکت مستقیم در جسم ثابت آن است که جسم را | چند بار بگیرند در مقدار راه که در یک بار گرفته است.

P29a2
H37a

8 مقدار حرکت مستقیم در جسم ثابت آن است که جسم را | چند بار بگیرند در مقدار راه که در یک بار گرفته است.

9 مقدار حرکت مستقیم در جسم ثابت آن است که جسم را | چند بار بگیرند در مقدار راه که در یک بار گرفته است.

10 مقدار حرکت مستقیم در جسم ثابت آن است که جسم را | چند بار بگیرند در مقدار راه که در یک بار گرفته است.

15 مقدار حرکت مستقیم در جسم ثابت آن است که جسم را | چند بار بگیرند در مقدار راه که در یک بار گرفته است.

20 مقدار حرکت مستقیم در جسم ثابت آن است که جسم را | چند بار بگیرند در مقدار راه که در یک بار گرفته است.

1-1 این عبارت در متن نیست H. 2 – در C_2.

3 C_2HP + | مقدار حرکت مستقیم در جسم ثابت (مقدار P) مقداری باشد (P ۰۲۰۰) که

4 > C_2HP. 5 حرکت H. 6 H^{supral}.

7 ((مقدار C_2) مقدار حرکت مستقیم در جسم ثابت: مقدار جسم ثابت حرکت مستقیم است که در مقدار HC_2)

مقدار حرکت مستقیم: حرکت مستقیم آن است که جسم را چند بار بگیرند در مقدار راه که در یک بار گرفته است (H ۲۰۲۰) مقدار حرکت مستقیم در جسم ثابت C_2H آن است که جسم را چند بار بگیرند در مقدار راه که در یک بار گرفته است. (مقدار حرکت مستقیم در جسم ثابت آن است که جسم را چند بار بگیرند در مقدار راه که در یک بار گرفته است.)

But thus we will accept, that this first festival
Is the nativity; that ~~latter~~ other one (is) of the baptism.

It has been shown, therefore, that there are two festivals, one of his nativity, and the other of his baptism.[1] And again, the holy fathers too directed thus, and ordained by canons that on the Sabbath there should be a eucharist and the Gospel should be read, so that those who run toward old customs, to keep the Sabbath and celebrate it, might be frustrated.[2]

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1. C_2HP add: The holy Mar Severus says as follows in a hypomnēstikon (MSS: -os), i.e., in a memorandum of his: that those in Jerusalem and all of Palestine know (only) one festival for the birth and for the baptism, and celebrate it on one day, because they say that on the same day that the Word was born in the flesh from the Virgin, he was baptized by John, but when he was thirty years old. And they say that this was committed to them from above, unwritten. And (Severus) says that if this is true, the Apostles did well, that after they left Palestine (and) preached the Gospel in all the inhabited world, they directed that the birthday (festival) should be made on its own on the day when the light should begin to defeat the darkness, (H only adds:) so that by this means they might abolish the festival which the pagans make on this day on which the light begins to defeat the darkness.

2. C_2H add: And these are the (considerations) which the holy Mar Severus adduces concerning those in Jerusalem and in Palestine. C_2HP add: But thus we will accept and know: there are two festivals, one of Christ's nativity, and the other of his baptism. And as two separate days we shall celebrate them: that of the nativity on 25 Kanun I, because he was born at the end of the day of the twenty-fourth, and of the baptism on the sixth of Kanun II, because on it he was baptized by John. C_2H only add: In the year 43 of Augustus, which is the year 36 of Herod, in the "month of flowers" (sc. Nisan), the twelve Magi came to Bethlehem.

1 ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲡⲓⲥⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲭ̀ⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲧⲏⲣ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲧⲏⲣ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲭ̀ⲣⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ ⲓⲏ̅ⲥ̅ ⲡⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲧⲏⲣ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲧⲏⲣ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ

ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲛⲁⲥⲕⲉⲩⲁⲍⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲛ ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲛⲁⲥⲕⲉⲩⲁⲍⲉ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲓⲟⲛ ⲡⲛⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲙ̀ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲗⲏⲧⲟⲥ

Fourteenth chapter: showing why we make flames of fire on this festival of the nativity of Christ. And we say, to abolish the flames of fire which the pagans, the sun- and idol-worshippers, make. They, on this day of the twenty-fifth of Kanun I, make flames of fire, for the honour of the sun, because on this day the light defeats the darkness, in that it starts to detract from it. But we make flames of fire to abolish the pagans' sense, and to draw the faithful to Christ, who was born on this day on which light defeats darkness, and (so that) they should not go to the pagans' flames.

Fifteenth chapter: on how many names this festival is called. And we say, by two, the birth and epiphany: the birth, because on it God the Word was born of the Virgin Mary; the epiphany-day, because on it God the Word shone forth to those who were sitting on the earth in the darkness of sin and in the shadows of death.[1] These things (are) as the holy Theologian has said.

Sixteenth chapter: on what we have gained by this day. And we say, many things. One, God, who came to us and became man without having changed, and became like us. Second, that the curse has been annulled which was spoken to Eve the first woman, that "in distresses shall you bear children".[2] Three, again, the sentences of the judgment went out upon human nature that "in distresses you shall bear children", and that "my spirit shall not dwell in men forever",[3] and that "from dust you are and to dust you shall return".[4] Now, the first has been dissolved today - "Blessed are you among women",[5] etc., the angel said to Mary; the second, at the epiphany and at Pentecost at the coming of the Holy Spirit; and the third at Christ's resurrection.

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1. Is 9.2.
2. Gn 3.16.
3. Gn 6.3.
4. Gn 3.19.
5. Lk 1.42.

1 ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܠܗ | ܒܝܬ ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܐܠܗܐ P30a1

ܒܝܬ ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܠܗ.

ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܫܬܡܫ ܒܗ ܘܡܫܡܫ ܠܗ ܘܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܫ ܒܗ ܐܢܫ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܐܠܐ ܒܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܡܫܡܫ ܠܗ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܡܫܡܫ ܠܗ

Seventeenth chapter: on how the name "festival" is interpreted.

And we say, "festival" is interpreted (as) rejoicing and the remembrance of those things because of which the rejoicing came to be. And even the ancient pagans called the days of their rejoicing "festivals", on which they remembered the (sources of) rejoicing which were granted to them. For example, on the festival of Passover, the Hebrews used to remember again their freeing from Egypt, and on the festival of Pentecost they used to recall the giving of the Law[1] - and other things on other festivals.

Eighteenth chapter: that the festivals of God the Word refer to these things for us. And we say, some of the festivals of God the Word refer to (the time) before his descent to us - (viz. one:) the annunciation to the pure Virgin Mary by the angel. Some (refer to) his descent, that is, his self-revelation in the flesh: one, his being born from the Virgin; second, the remembrance of his baptism; third, again, the entry into Jerusalem; fourth, the remembrance of the sacramental supper on (Maundy) Thursday; fifth, the holy day of the Friday of the crucifixion; sixth, of his resurrection renewing all; seventh, the new Sunday. Some yet again (refer to) his ascent and his ascension to heaven. In between these festivals, the church celebrates other festivals, comprising other kinds different from these (above), which are these: one, the sanctification and consecration of the holy chrism; second, the encaenia, i.e., the dedication of the cross; third, the annunciation of the conception of John the preacher and fore-runner; fourth, his killing; fifth, the remembrance of the killing of the babes; sixth, the time of the coming of the Magi; seventh, the bringing of our Lord into the temple, on which Simeon carried him in his arms -

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1. C_2HP add: and on the festival of Tabernacles they used to offer up thanksgiving to God on account of all his gifts to them.

ܗܘ ܕܡܫܬܐ ܒܝܘܡ ܫܒܬܐ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܫܒܬܐ ܠܫܒܬܐ

with other remembrances which it is not necessary for us to write down. But the festival of Pentecost is not of the festivals of the dispensation with flesh, but (it is) the festival of the coming of the Spirit, the Paraclete, upon the Apostles, and of the divine gifts which he distributed and gave them - (he) to whom be glory and honour with his Father and his Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen.

L24a ملكوتك نعبدك ربنا [2 لكي 3] نعلم ملوك ان ملكوتك هذا [1 هو|

ملكوت الدهور الى ابد الابدين :

C43a آمين | آمين كما تكون صلواتنا ربنا. ليتقدس|

اسمك في كل الارض ربنا. ليأت ملكوتك

ونصلي لكي ربنا. نعبد ونسجد له : وليس لك ربنا. دون غيرك

ليس لنا ملك : فلتكون مشيئتك ليتم لكي نعبدك ونباركك

ونسبحك ونمجدك ونرفعك[9] ونعظمك لكي نتم لكي نصير ملوك

ونكون كهنة لك ونملك على الارض. آمين : دون ليس لنا ملك ربنا لكي

: ونرتل لك ونسبح لك ونمجد لك ونعظم لك ونرفع لك

P42b ونعبد لك ونسجد لك | ونبارك لك

دون غيرك ربنا ونعبدك

ليس لنا ملك ربنا لكي نعبدك ونسجد لك ونبارك لك ونسبح لك

ونمجد لك ونعظم لك ونرفع لك ونرتل لك ونكون كهنة لك ونملك على

الارض. آمين : دون غيرك ليس لنا ملك ربنا لكي نعبدك ونسجد لك

ونبارك لك ونسبح لك ونمجد لك ونعظم لك ونرفع لك ونرتل لك

P30b2 ونكون كهنة لك ونملك على الارض. آمين | دون غيرك ليس لنا ملك ربنا

: لكي نعبدك ونسجد لك ونبارك لك ونسبح لك ونمجد لك ونعظم لك

ونرفع لك ونرتل لك ونكون كهنة لك ونملك على الارض. آمين

دون غيرك ليس لنا ملك ربنا. فهو

ليس لنا ملك ربنا لكي نعبدك ونسجد لك ونبارك لك ونسبح لك

ونمجد لك ونعظم لك ونرفع لك ونرتل لك ونكون كهنة لك ونملك على

الارض. آمين : دون غيرك ليس لنا ملك ربنا لكي نعبدك ونسجد لك

ونبارك لك ونسبح لك ونمجد لك ونعظم لك ونرفع لك ونرتل لك

ونكون كهنة لك ونملك على الارض. آمين : دون غيرك ليس لنا ملك ربنا

لكي نعبدك ونسجد لك ونبارك لك ونسبح لك ونمجد لك ونعظم لك

ونرفع لك ونرتل لك ونكون كهنة لك ونملك على الارض. آمين

1 >L. 2 >L. 3-3 in red L. 4 صلواتنا C. 5 P^{a}. 6 صلواتنا MZ.
7 >L. 8 ونكرمك L. 9 + ونمدحك L. 10 >L. 11 >CP. 12 + ونرتل P.
13 P^{a}. 14 ونبارك P. 15 +sey L.

a ربنا MSS.

Next, by the same Moše bar Kepha, these explanations concerning the account of the coming of the Magi. First explanation: of what race they were. Eusebius of Caesarea and Gregory of Nyssa say they are of the descendants of Balaam. But Mar Jacob of Edessa says that they were of the descendants of Elam the son of Shem. Others say they were of the descendants of the kings of Sheba and Seba,[1] as David said, "The kings of Sheba and of Seba[1] will bring him offerings".[2] But of whatever (race) they were, they were rulers and renowed and famous men.

Second explanation: from what country they were. And we say, from Persia, for that is where (the Magi) used to live.

Third explanation: how many they were in number. And some say, they were three, and this is clear from the fact that they offered three offerings to Christ, gold, myrrh, and frankincense. And (they say) there were with them about a thousand men, and this is clear from the fact that all Jerusalem was shaken. But Mar Jacob of Edessa says that they were not three, as some depict them in a picture, deriving this from the offerings that they offered, but there were twelve, <as>[3] the accounts written about them indicate; and that there were with them a large (body of) people and a great multitude, more than a thousand men, and this is clear from the fact that Herod was shaken and all the people of Jerusalem. Yet others say, they were eight, and this - they say - is clear from what Isaiah the prophet said: "We will raise against him[4] seven shepherds and eight princes of men".[5] And with them, they say, was an army, more than a thousand men, so that Jerusalem was troubled by the sight of them.

Fourth explanation: concerning the names of the Magi.

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1. Syriac: Saba. 2. Ps 72.10. 3. MSS: where.
4. Or on account of him. 5. Micah (sic) 5.5.

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The king who sent them is called Pir-Shabor. And their names are these:

Hudundad	bar	Arṭaban
Hormizdad	bar	Sanatrus
Vaštaph	bar	Gudphar
Aršak	bar	Mahadus
Zarvand	bar	Varvad
Ariho	bar	Kusro
Artaḫšašt	bar	Ḥulit
Eštanbozan	bar	Šišron
Mihduḳ	bar	Huwahm
Aḫšayarš	bar	Ṣniban
Ṣardanaḫ	bar	Baladan
Merodak	bar	Bil.

These men were kings, sons of kings, but when they reached the cave of Bethlehem, they took their crowns from their heads and laid them before the feet of Our Saviour, and fell down (and) worshipped him.

Fifth explanation: what Magianism is. And we say, Magianism is a sect composed of paganism and of Chaldeanism, in that it worships the elements like the pagans, and reckons by the stars like the Chaldeans.

Sixth explanation: why Christ's nativity was revealed, by means of the star, to foreign peoples and not to the Jews. And we say, because of many (reasons). One, that the testimony about him might be especially believed. For the testimony of strangers about a man is (to be) believed more than that of his own associates. Because foreign peoples testified, therefore, that Christ was born and that he is King and Lord, they were believed more than the Jews (would have been). Second, so that the Gentiles might nullify the faithlessness of the Jews: lest they should say, "We do not know when and where he was born, and because of this, are we to follow him?",[1] the Magi came and told plainly about these things. And therefore the Jews have no excuse that they did not believe in him. Third, again, because the Jews were silent, and they did not hear the voice of the prophets

1. Cf. Jn 7.27.

1 ... ...

who were prophesying about his coming, the Magi came to preach and cry out that thing that they did not wish to receive from the prophets.

Seventh explanation: why, when his nativity was revealed to foreign peoples by means of the star, it was not revealed to peoples nearby, people of the border(lands) of the Jews, like the Edomites and the Philistines and the others of their neighbours, but to far-away (people), those who were very distant from Judaea. And we say, (if) it should have been revealed to the peoples nearby and neighbouring, his proclamation would not have been so public and widespread, as (if) it should be revealed to those far away who are in Persia. For that the peoples nearby and neighbouring Judaea should investigate and come to him, would have made his proclamation something mean and small and restrained. But this, that far-away peoples from Persia and from the outer edges of the inhabited world should investigate and come to him, makes his Gospel widespread and vast and renowned.

Eighth explanation: why, when he revealed himself to those far away, he revealed himself to the Magi rather than others. And we say, because this child came to sinners, to call (them) to repentance, and to those who had become ill, as he himself said.[1] And more than all (other) peoples, the Magi were wicked and sick in sin. Now, they were involved with many wicked (practices): one, that they worshipped created things; second, that they sacrificed to demons; third, that they practised soothsaying and magic; fourth, that they married their mothers, sisters, daughters, daughters-in-law, etc.; fifth, again, that they were a people whose libations were unclean and (whose) sacrifices were foul. And because they,

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1. Lk 5.31f.

ملكتها. كما ملك الملوك[5] الملوك
الذين ملكوا على الناس. وملكتها كما ملك
الله الذي ملك الملوك. وملكها كما ملك
الله الذي ملك الملوك. وملكها كما ملك
الله الذي ملك الملوك. وملك

more than all (other) peoples were ill in various kinds of sin, therefore (it was) to them (that) the physician of souls and bodies, this one who was born, first revealed himself, by means of the star, so that he might heal them first. As the blessed Paul said, "Where sin abounded, there grace shall superabound".[1]

Ninth explanation: why, when he revealed himself to the Magi, he did not reveal himself to all of them, but (only) to some of them. And we say, because some of them were going to believe and some of them (were) not; this was through their free will. And to those who were going to believe, he revealed himself. Lo, even today there are many peoples (in) which some believe in Christ and some (do) not. And, once, when many peoples perished, (it was) to the Ninevites alone, who were going to repent, (that) Jonah the prophet was sent. And also, when two robbers were crucified, one believed in Christ but the other (did) not.

Tenth explanation: why from the eastern direction Christ made the Magi come, and not from another direction. And we say, it was because of many (reasons). One, because the first dispensation started from the east - "And the Lord God planted a garden in the east", it is written in the Septuagint[2] - it was proper that the second dispensation also should start from the east. Second, because from the east the sun begins to shine forth over the earth. And this child in question is the sun, as the prophet said, "And there shall shine forth, for you who fear my name, the Sun of Righteousness".[3] And also from the east the light starts which shines forth over the earth. And this child is the light; as he himself said, "I am the light of the world".[4] Third, again, because the Magi were going to bring gold as an offering to this child in question, and there is no gold

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1. Ro 5.20. 2. Gn 2.8. 3. Mal 4.2.
4. Jn 8.12.

ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܝܟ

like that of the eastern region; as the book of Genesis has said, "The gold of that land is good".[1] Fourth, because it was from the east that the prophets prophesied that the Magi were to come to Christ. For David said, "From the east of the sun as far as its west, great is the name of the Lord",[2] while in truth the Magi magnified the name of the Lord Christ from the east of the sun as far as its west. Likewise, also Malachi the prophet said, "From the east of the sun as far as its west, my name is feared among the nations".[3] (It is also) because from the eastern direction, it seems, he will appear at his second coming: "Just as lightning goes forth from the east and is seen as far as the west, so will the coming of the Son of Man be".[4] Therefore for all these(reasons), it was appropriately (that) the Magi, the heralds of the Son, came from the eastern direction, and not from another direction.

Eleventh explanation: how old the Magi found Christ when they came to Bethlehem. Mar John in (his) commentary on the Gospel, and Cyril in the book against Julian the pagan, say the Magi found him as a baby and wrapped in the swaddling-cloths and laid in the manger. For they say that a great while before his nativity the star previously appeared to them. And when they proceeded and came and reached Bethlehem, they found him as a baby and wrapped in the swaddling-cloths and laid in the manger. And again they say, it was proper that in the swaddling-cloths and laid in the manger he should be worshipped by the Magi, so that the miracle should appear to be something great. But Epiphanius of Cyprus, and Eusebius of Caesarea in his Chronicle, and Mar Ephrem in his hymns, say, they found him when he was two years old. For they say that when he was born in Bethlehem he was circumcised in the cave and went up to the temple and

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1. Gn 2.12. 2. Ps 113.3. 3. Mal 1.11.
4. Mt 24.27.

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ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܫܠܝܡ ܒܫܝܪ ܫܝܪܝܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܫܝܪ ܫܝܪ ܫܝܪ ܕܫܝܪܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܫܝܪ ܫܝܪ ܫܝܪ ܕܫܝܪܝܢ ܐ
ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܫܝܪ ܫܝܪ ܫܝܪ ܕܫܝܪܝܢ ܐ ܐܠܐ

offered offerings as the Law commanded and was carried by Simeon, and went to Nazareth in the same year. And at the turn of the year, they brought him to appear before the Lord in the temple, and from the temple they went to Bethlehem, and from Bethlehem they returned to Nazareth again. And at the end of two years, they took him up again to Jerusalem, and they went from there to Bethlehem again. And in the second year of (his) being born, when he was at Bethlehem, the Magi came to him by night, and in that same night the angel appeared to Joseph and told him to take him to Egypt, and he went to Egypt. For Mar Ephrem says in his hymns on the birth as follows: "(In) the year, the second year of the birth of Our Saviour, the Magi are glad". And also Mar Severus says in an antiphon on the killing of the babes as follows concerning the babes, that they are "the sacrifice of the same age as Christ". And the babes were two years old; Herod killed and sacrificed them. So it is inferred that the Magi found Christ two years old, from these reasons: one, that the children whom Herod killed were "two years old and under", it says, "according to the time which he ascertained from the Magi"[1] that the star appeared to them; second, from the fact that after the Magi came and offered offerings and disregarded Herod and did not return to him, there was not room or opportunity for Joseph and Mary to go up to Jerusalem and to the temple and offer offerings, as Herod was breathing out anger and decreeing death against children. Nor could Simeon have spoken about Christ the things which he spoke. But when he was a baby, there was room for all these things to be accomplished. Third, again, it is clear from the fact that Matthew said concerning the Magi that when they came to Bethlehem they entered "the house" and not "the cave", and they found "the child" with his

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1. Mt 2.16.

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mother, and not "the baby" as Luke said.[1] And "child" is different from "baby", for he is called a baby when wrapped in swaddling-cloths, and he was termed a child when he prattles and creeps and crawls and walks. So then it is clear that the Magi found Christ two years old, whence the statement of Luke and Matthew stands and is confirmed concerning (the fact) that Luke says that Christ went from Bethlehem to Nazareth, and Matthew says that he went from Bethlehem to Egypt. And both of them are true, in that he was born in Bethlehem, and after forty days went to Jerusalem to the temple and from there to Nazareth, and at the end of two years came from Nazareth to Bethlehem, and from Bethlehem went to Egypt. And the former (statement), that he went from Bethlehem to Nazareth, (is what) Luke says, and the latter, that he went from Bethlehem to Egypt, (is what) Matthew says. And both of them are true.

Twelfth explanation: the empire of the Romans and of the Persians at the time of the birth of Christ. From Nisibis westward was (part) of the Roman jurisdiction, and from Nisibis eastward (part) of the Persian jurisdiction, for these two empires held at the time the greater part of the inhabited world. How could the Magi have come from Persia and crossed over to Bethlehem, which was located in the jurisdiction of the Romans? And we say, at that time there was peace and concord between the emperors of the Romans and the emperors of the Persians. And therefore the Magi came and crossed over without any hindrance.

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1. Mt 2.11, Lk 2.16.

1 ואסר ויקרא ויאמר אל משה לאמר ׃ 1 דבר אל בני ישראל ואמרת אלהם איש איש כי יקריב מכם קרבן ליהוה מן הבהמה מן הבקר ומן הצאן תקריבו את קרבנכם ׃ 2 אם עלה קרבנו מן הבקר זכר תמים יקריבנו אל פתח אהל מועד יקריב אתו לרצנו לפני יהוה ׃ 3 וסמך ידו על ראש העלה ונרצה לו לכפר עליו ׃ 4 והשחט את בן הבקר לפני יהוה והקריבו בני אהרן הכהנים את הדם וזרקו את הדם על המזבח סביב אשר פתח אהל מועד ׃ 5 והפשיט את העלה ונתח אתה לנתחיה ׃ 6 ונתנו בני אהרן הכהן אש על המזבח וערכו עצים על האש ׃ 7 וערכו בני אהרן הכהנים את הנתחים את הראש ואת הפדר על העצים אשר על האש אשר על המזבח ׃ 8 וקרבו בני אהרן הכהנים את הדם זרקו את הדם על המזבח סביב אשר פתח אהל מועד ׃ 9 ואת קרבו ואת כרעיו ירחץ במים והקטיר הכהן את הכל המזבחה עלה אשה ריח ניחח ליהוה ׃ 10 ואם מן הצאן מן הכשבים או מן העזים לעלה זכר תמים יקריבנו ׃ 11 ושחט אתו על ירך המזבח צפנה לפני יהוה וזרקו בני אהרן הכהן את דמו על המזבח סביב ׃ 12 ונתח אתו לנתחיו ואת ראשו ואת פדרו וערך הכהן אתם על העצים אשר על האש אשר על המזבח ׃ 13 והקרב והכרעים ירחץ במים והקריב הכהן את הכל והקטיר המזבחה עלה הוא אשה ריח ניחח ליהוה ׃ 14 ואם מן העוף עלה קרבנו ליהוה והקריב מן התרים או מן בני היונה את קרבנו ׃ 15 והקריבו הכהן אל המזבח ומלק את ראשו והקטיר המזבחה ונמצה דמו על קיר המזבח ׃ 16 ומלק את מוראתו בנוצתה והשליך אתה אצל המזבח קדמה במקום הדשן ׃ 17 ושסע אתו בכנפיו לא יבדיל והקטירו הכהן המזבחה על העצים אשר על האש עלה אשה ריח ניחח ליהוה ׃

1-1 ויקרא אל משה ויאמר יהוה אליו לאמר L. 2 + אליו C. 3 + הבהמה L 4 זבח L. 5 אהלו L. 6 מקנה P. 7 > L. 8-8 > CP.

Next, other explanations concerning the story of the star.

First explanation: why Christ drew the Magi to him by means of a star, and not by means of something else. And we say, because of many reasons. One, condescending by this to their weakness (was) to catch them[1] and call them by means of the thing to which they were accustomed, for they were accustomed to stars and to reckoning by them. And therefore he called them by a star, just as he drew many (others) by the matters to which they were accustomed: as he drew the Israelites by sacrifices and offerings, which they loved from Egypt because of their pagan familiarity with them; and as he heralded to Saul the death of himself and of his sons by means of familiar spirits; and as he taught Balaam his (sc. God's) power by means of those things which he did to Balak; and as he caught the apostles by a catch of fish, to which they were accustomed, saying to them, "Cast (your nets) to the right side of the boat",[2] and as Paul did, who when he was speaking with pagans, adduced for them proofs from their own poets to whom they were accustomed;[3] and as a bird is trapped by means of the bait to which it is accustomed. Therefore (it was) by something to which they were accustomed (that) he condescended and called them. Second, because he was heavenly; as John said, "He who comes from above is above all".[4] Therefore he caught them by a heavenly star. And also because he calls his own associates to heaven, according to this: "Where I am, there shall my servant be also",[5] and "I go to prepare a place for you".[6] Third, again, he drew them by means of a star, because so the Spirit had predicted by the mouth of Balaam: "A star shall shine forth from Jacob, and a chief shall rise from Israel".[7] Fourth, because this

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1. L: to fix (their attention). 2. Jn 21.6. 3. Ac 17.28.
4. Jn 3.31. 5. Jn 12.26. 6. Jn 14.2.
7. Nu 24.17.

ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ

child is the sun, according to this: "There shall shine forth for you who fear me, the Sun of Righteousness".[1] And a star is proper to be the messenger of the sun, for lo, from creation onwards before this perceptible sun, the morning star has risen first morning after morning. Fifth, he drew them by means of a star, so that his heralds would be allied to one another. For he had two heralds, as it was proper that they should be allied to one another - John, I mean, from below,[2] and the star in the sky. John was called a lamp - "He was a lamp which blazed"[3] - and a star and a lamp are closely allied to one another. Three bodily heralds heralded him at his birth: the star, the shepherds, and the Magi. The star heralded him because he was heavenly; the shepherds because he was a shepherd and a lamb; the Magi in that he was the forgiver of sinners. And notice that the Magi, when the star had enlightened them, believed in him; the Jews, however, when the prophets preached to them and they saw the mighty works and miracles that he performed, did not believe in him.

Second explanation: whether it was a star or something else. And we say, it was not a star, and this is clear from many (considerations). One, from its pointing out of the child, as the Gospel has said: "It descended and stood above where the child was"[4] - this "descended" (meaning) this, that it left all its own high position and descended and stood above the place in proximity. And if it had been otherwise, it could not have pointed out one (single) place distinctly and as with a finger. For lo, the moon, which is larger than the stars, stands on a plane above many and various places and cannot point out distinctly one (single) place among them. How much more (is this true of) a star, which is small.

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1. Mal 4.2. 2. Cf. Jn 3.31. 3. Jn 5.35.
4. Cf. Mt 2.9.

1 om CP. 2 صورة L. 3 بقعة L. 4 + بشاشة L.
5 -cop CP. 6 شبيه L. 7 بلغ C. 8 +منه تسمو P.

.حيوان بل بشر[1] ولا حيوان[8] ولا نبات[7] ولا جماد[6]

ولا يقال[5] عن الله[4] بالتشبيه[3] ولا بالمشاكلة[2]

ولا يقال عن الله بالتشبيه ولا بالمشاكلة

.حيوان في حيوان · ولا صفة من الصفات ولا

.بشر ولا حيوان ولا نبات ولا جماد ولا

.بالمشاكلة ولا بالتشبيه ولا بالمشاكلة

ولا يقال عن الله بالتشبيه ولا بالمشاكلة

.حيوان في حيوان · ولا صفة من الصفات ولا

.بشر ولا حيوان ولا نبات ولا جماد ولا

.بالمشاكلة ولا بالتشبيه ولا بالمشاكلة

ولا يقال عن الله بالتشبيه ولا بالمشاكلة

.حيوان في حيوان · ولا صفة من الصفات ولا

.بشر ولا حيوان ولا نبات ولا جماد ولا

.بالمشاكلة ولا بالتشبيه ولا بالمشاكلة

ولا يقال عن الله بالتشبيه ولا بالمشاكلة

.حيوان في حيوان · ولا صفة من الصفات ولا

.بشر ولا حيوان ولا نبات ولا جماد ولا

.بالمشاكلة ولا بالتشبيه ولا بالمشاكلة

ولا يقال عن الله بالتشبيه ولا بالمشاكلة

.حيوان في حيوان · ولا صفة من الصفات ولا

.بشر ولا حيوان ولا نبات ولا جماد ولا

.بالمشاكلة ولا بالتشبيه ولا بالمشاكلة

It is clear, therefore, that it descended from the height of its exalted position until it lowered itself and stood above the place in proximity, and it pointed ~~it~~ him out distinctly as with a finger; so then it was not a star. Second, we say that stars are of two kinds. Some of them are fixed; some of them are movable. And the fixed ones never move, while the movable ones are never still. But this one was always (sometimes)moving and sometimes still; so then, it was not a star. Third, the planets[1] travel from west to east. But that one travelled from east to south, because Persia is located to the east of Jerusalem, while Jerusalem (is) to the south of Persia. Fourth, from the fact that natural stars are not seen by day. But it was seen by night and by day. Fifth, from the fact that sometimes it was shown to the Magi, and sometimes it was concealed from them - which is not (the case) with stars. For when they reached Jerusalem it was concealed from them, but when they left Jerusalem it was shown to them; so then, it was not a star. Sixth, if it had been a natural star, it would not have been for the Magi alone that it would have burned in its proximity to them, but also for everyone who was near it. So then it is inferred from all these proofs that it was not a star. But if not, what was it? Some say it was a hidden power of the Lord which appeared in the form of a star.

Third explanation: what the Magi saw in the star after which they were being drawn, or what they understood from that after which they were hastening and proceeding, and what was the reason which was drawing them after it. And some say, they saw in that star a maiden sitting and holding a child in her arms, and he wore the crown of a kingdom. And because of this they let themselves be drawn. Others indeed say, they saw in it a

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1. Lit. wayward stars.

ܐ ܕܡܫܬܡܥ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܘܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܘܠܐ ܐܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܘ

kind of mark and characters written, (saying), "This is the star of the king of the Jews who has been born", as the form of a cross appeared to the emperor Constantine in the heavens and it was shown to him, "With this you are to conquer". And because of this they let themselves be drawn after it. Others have said, a vision appeared to them in that star, (saying), "The king of the Jews has been born in the country of Judaea. But go to him", as the angel appeared to them after they saw him and offered him offerings, (saying) that they should go by another way to their country. Others have said, they saw that star, which was more powerful in its light and splendour than the sun and moon and stars, as there appeared to Moses fire dwelling in the bush and shining. And there appeared to them with the star an angel who said to them, "A king has been born in Judaea, and this is his star. But rise and go after it". Others, again, say, Balaam the soothsayer was a forefather and ancestor and predecessor of these Magi. And ~~Balaam~~ he prophesied beforehand about Christ: "A star shall shine forth from Jacob, and a chief shall arise from Israel".[1] And he said to those who heard him, "A king is going to be born to the Jews and an amazing star will come forth at his birth. But when he is born, go and offer him gifts and offerings and worship him". And they wrote down this account that he said and kept it with care, because he was their own forefather and prophet and soothsayer. And this book was handed down from generation to generation. And when this star shone forth, they read among those things that were written, and found that the prophecy of Balaam their forefather had been fulfilled, as he predicted. And therefore they took offerings and proceeded after that star. Others, again, say that

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1. Nu 24.17.

ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܚܝܠ ܠܡܫܕܐ ܘܠܡܫܬ

when Daniel was in the land of Babylon he prophesied and said to the Babylonians, "Within a certain number of weeks a king is to be born to the Jews in the country of Jerusalem, and an amazing and glorious star is to shine forth at his nativity. But when he is born, go, offer him offerings." Now the king of Babylon, because trial had been made by him of the truth of Daniel's words in many other (matters) too, inscribed what Daniel said in characters of gold. And he kept it with care in his own treasury. And it was handed down from king to king and from generation to generation, because this account was true in that Daniel received this revelation from an angel, and the king had received it from Daniel. And when the weeks were complete that Daniel had spoken about, and Christ was born as he prophesied and the star shone forth at his nativity as he said, the Magi saw it and took offerings and went after it.

Fourth explantion: (whether) the Magi alone saw that star, or also others with them. And we say, the Magi alone saw it.

Fifth explanation: whether it proceeded in front of them all the time, or (only) sometimes; and if sometimes, at what time did it proceed and what time did it stop. And we say, it did not proceed all the time, in that the Magi could not have proceeded on the way all the time, unhindered and without rest. Rather, sometimes it proceeded, and sometimes it stopped. At the proper time for the Magi to proceed and journey on the way, it proceeded before them, and they proceeded after it, while at the fitting time for them to halt, it stopped, and likewise they halted. For just as the Israelites had the pillar of fire and the cloud when they went forth from Egypt, so had the Magi the star when they went from Persia to Bethlehem. The eyes of the Israelites were upon the pillar and

ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܘܫܘܠܛܢ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܘܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ׃ ܘܐܡܪ ܡܪܝ ܫܠܡ ܠܟܘܢ ܠܟܠ ܚܕ ܘܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܚܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܚܛܐ ܠܟ ܐܚܘܟ ܙܠ ܘܐܘܒܝܗ ܠܘܬܗ ܒܝܢ ܐܢܬ ܘܗܘ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܘܐܢ ܫܡܥ ܠܟ ܩܢܝܬ ܐܚܘܟ ׃ ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܫܡܥ ܠܟ ܩܒܠ ܠܟ ܥܡ ܚܕ ܐܘ ܬܪܝܢ ܕܒܦܘܡ ܬܪܝܢ ܣܗܕܐ ܩܘܡ ܟܠ ܡܠܬܐ ׃ ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܩܒܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܟܢܝܫܬܐ ׃ ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܩܒܠ ܠܟܢܝܫܬܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܥܡܐ ܘܐܝܟ ܓܒܝܐ ׃ ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܟܘܢ ܕܡܐ ܕܐܬܪܘܢ ܠܐܣܘܪ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܐܣܝܪ ܒܫܡܝܐ ׃ ܘܡܐ ܕܫܪܝܬܘܢ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܫܪܝܪ ܒܫܡܝܐ ׃ ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܟܘܢ ܕܬܪܝܢ ܡܢܟܘܢ ܡܫܬܘܐ ܥܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܢܫܐܠܘܢ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܒܐ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ׃ ܡܛܠ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܬܪܝܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܫܡܗ ܐܢܐ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܒܝܢܬܗܘܢ ׃ ܘ

the cloud: when they proceeded, they (too) would march after them, and when they stopped, they would halt and rest themselves. And likewise the Magi (looked) to the star, their guide.

Sixth explanation: why they said, "We have seen his star", and not (merely) "a star". And we say, they did not say "a star" because "star" is a simple indication, with which nothing further is understood than the star alone. But they said "his star", indicating that combined with "star" was the (particular) person whose this star was.

Seventh explanation: a pagan objection. The impious Julian objects here and says that this account of the star is untrue, because - he says - there was no one among astronomers and mathematicians who knew this star, and (no one) said anything about it, in that it does not exist. And we say, he ought to know that if on account of great matters there have sometimes appeared stars, those which are called <comets> and "tailed (stars)" and <"the spear (star)"> and "the beard-like (star)", (then) this would also not have been extraordinary that by the will of God a star should have unusually appeared, that it might shine forth at the time of the nativity of God the Word, and announce his birth beforehand. However, it was not (in any case) a star, but it was one of the angelic powers which drew the Magi with the appearance of a star, (and) which God accommodated (to his own use), condescending to the weakness of the Magi in this, that by means of the stars, to which they were accustomed, and their reckoning, he might call them.

Others who have wished to assert the doctrine of Chaldeanism, say: Chaldeanism is true, and it is clear from this, from the fact that when Christ was born, a star appeared to the Magi and drew them to him.

1 om L. 2 ‹ ›‹ ›‹ ›

And we say many things to them. One, if Christ was born by this power which Chaldeanism claims, how is it that when he was born, he abolished Chaldeanism and set aside fates? Second, when Chaldeans wish to compose someone's horoscope, they do not compose it from one star but from many - from the twelve signs of the Zodiac, I mean, and from the seven planets. But (as for) the Magi, one star alone drew them to the nativity of Christ. But if astrology had been true, the Magi would not have learned from one star alone about the nativity of Christ. Third, again, we say to them, what did the Magi learn from that star? And if they say, that he was king of the Jews, (we reply:) lo, he was not a king here (on earth), as he himself said, "My own kingdom ~~is~~ has not come to be of this world".[1] Nor did he have troops and soldiers, but only twelve fishermen. And he had no house - as he himself said, "The Son of Man has nowhere to rest his head"[2] - but he had, humanly, an ascetic life. Now, kings who are recognized from the stars of Chaldeanism rule over nations, become great by means of ranks of soldiers, and by sword and battle subject enemies; but he did the opposite of these things. And if they say, they knew he was King of Kings by means of that star, we say that this was not by the power of Chaldeanism nor of its teaching, but of God the Omnipotent. It is plain, then, that it was not by the order of the teaching of Chaldeanism (that) the Magi had a revelation of the nativity of Christ by means of the star. And therefore the teaching of astrology is not true, but has deceived and (is to be) rejected.

Eighth explanation: for what reason the Magi came to Christ. And we say, for three reasons. One, to see him. Second, that they might offer

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1. Jn 18.36. 2. Mt 8.20.

١ وبعدها صفح لطف الله. وعلى المستعان وبه نستعين. وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد

وآله وصحبه وسلم تسليما كثيرا. وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل. ولا حول ولا قوة

إلا بالله العلي العظيم. وكان الفراغ من نسخه يوم الخميس : لـ ٢٩ من شهر

رجب الفرد سنة ثمان وثلاثين وتسعمائة من هجرة من له العز والشرف

٢ صلى الله عليه وسلم.

1 الرحمان C. 2 + تمت L.

him the worship which is due to God; as they (themselves) explained and said, "We have come to worship him".[1] Third, to offer him offerings as to God the King who had become man - and saved us by his death - as the Evangelist Matthew said.[2] To him be glory and praise from heights and depths forever. Amen.

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1. Mt 2.2.

2. Mt 2.11; cf. Mt 1.21?

ܡܫܬܐ ¹ ܕܐ ܒܥܝܢ ܡܫܬܐ ܡܫܐ ܐܢ ܡܫܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܡܫܬܐ ¹| C62b

ܡܫܬ ܐܢ ¹ ܒܥܝܢ ² ܡܫܬܐ ܡܫܐ ܐܢ ܡܫܬܐ ¹| 1

ܡܫܬ ܡܫ. ܡܫܐ ܒܥܝ ܡܫ ܐܢ. ܐܫܐ ܡܫܐ ܐܢ ܡܫ ¹| P37a1

ܐܢ : ܐܢ ܡܫ ܡܫ ܒܥܝ ² ܡܫܬܐ : ܡ ܡܫ ³ ܡܫܬܐ ⁵

ܡ ܡܫ : ܡܫ ܒܥ ⁴ ܡ ܡܫ ⁴ ⁵ ⁴ ⁵ ⁴ ⁵

Next by the same (author), explanations about the killing of the babes.[1] First, the first explanation: why Herod killed the children. And we say, because he wished to kill the king, Christ, who was born. And because he did not know which child he was, "He had the children of Bethlehem killed" (v. 16), so that he might kill him with them.

Second explanation. He killed the children "in the borders" of Bethlehem, because he considered that perhaps his parents had caused the child to flee from Bethlehem to one of the villages which is in the borders of Bethlehem; and (that) when he killed the children of the villages which are on the borders of Bethlehem, the child king too would be killed with them.

Third explanation. He killed "all the children" and not (just) some of them, so that no child should remain with those who remained who were not killed, but (every one) be killed with all (the others). By what the Evangelist said, "all the children", he showed that not even one of them remained whom the soldiers did not kill by the fierce commandment of the vexed Herod.

Fourth explanation. He killed (those) "two years old and under", and not two years old and above, because when he questioned the Magi at what time the star appeared to them, they answered him, "Lo, it is two years since it appeared to us". And so he considered that therefore the child who was born was two years old. And because of this he had the children of two years old and under killed, so that he might kill (that) child with the children. And this is the meaning of what the Evangelist said, "according to the time which he had ascertained from the Magi".

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1. Mt 2.16–18.

1 ܡܫܬܡܫ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܝܐ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܫ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܝܐ[1]

ܡܫܬܡܫ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܝܐ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܫ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܝܐ ∶ ܡܫܬܡܫ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ∶ ܕܐܠܗܐ ∶ ܚܝܐ ∶ ܡܢ ∶ ܗܘ ∶ ܕܠܐ ∶ ܡܫܬܡܫ ∶ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ∶ ܕܐܠܗܐ ∶ ܚܝܐ ∶

5 ܕܐܠܗܐ ∶ ܚܝܐ ∶ ܩܕܡ ܪܒܐ ∶ ܡܫܬܡܫ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ∶ ܕܐܠܗܐ ∶ ܚܝܐ ∶ ܡܢ ∶ ܗܘ ∶ ܕܠܐ ∶ ܡܫܬܡܫ ∶ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ∶ ܕܐܠܗܐ ∶ ܚܝܐ ∶ ܡܫܬܡܫ ∶ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ∶ ܕܐܠܗܐ ∶ ܚܝܐ ∶ ܡܢ ∶ ܗܘ ∶ ܕܠܐ ∶ ܡܫܬܡܫ ∶ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ∶ ܕܐܠܗܐ ∶ ܚܝܐ ∶

10 ܡܫܬܡܫ ∶ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ∶ ܕܐܠܗܐ ∶ ܚܝܐ ∶ ܡܢ ∶ ܗܘ ∶ ܕܠܐ ∶ ܡܫܬܡܫ ∶ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ∶ ܕܐܠܗܐ ∶ ܚܝܐ ∶ ܡܫܬܡܫ ∶ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ∶ ܕܐܠܗܐ ∶ ܚܝܐ ∶ ܡܢ ∶ ܗܘ ∶ ܕܠܐ ∶ ܡܫܬܡܫ ∶ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ∶ ܕܐܠܗܐ ∶ ܚܝܐ ∶

15 ܡܫܬܡܫ ∶ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ∶ ܕܐܠܗܐ ∶ ܚܝܐ ∶ ܡܢ ∶ ܗܘ ∶ ܕܠܐ ∶ ܡܫܬܡܫ ∶ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ∶ ܕܐܠܗܐ ∶ ܚܝܐ ∶ ܡܫܬܡܫ ∶ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ∶ ܕܐܠܗܐ ∶ ܚܝܐ ∶ ܡܢ ∶ ܗܘ ∶ ܕܠܐ ∶ ܡܫܬܡܫ ∶ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ∶ ܕܐܠܗܐ ∶ ܚܝܐ ∶

ܡܫܬܡܫ ∶ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ∶ ܕܐܠܗܐ ∶ ܚܝܐ ∶ ܡܢ ∶ ܗܘ ∶ ܕܠܐ ∶ ܡܫܬܡܫ ∶ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ∶ ܕܐܠܗܐ ∶ ܚܝܐ ∶ ܡܫܬܡܫ ∶ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ∶ ܕܐܠܗܐ ∶ ܚܝܐ ∶ ܡܢ ∶ ܗܘ ∶ ܕܠܐ ∶ ܡܫܬܡܫ ∶ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ∶ ܕܐܠܗܐ ∶ ܚܝܐ ∶

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1 ܡܫܬܡܫ H. 2 >H. 3 >H. 4 ܡܫܬܡܫ LH. 5 -ה H.
6 ܒܫܘܠܡܐ H. 7 ܡܫܬܡܫ LHZ ܡܫܬܡܫ M. 8 ܪܡܝܐ C.
9 ܡܫܬܡܫ LH. 10 ܫܬܝܗ H. 11-11 red H. 12 ל C.

a ל CLH ܗܘ P. b-b ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ MSS.

Fifth explanation. The words of those who have said the Magi found Christ in swaddling-cloths, and of those who have said they found him two years old. We said before that Mar John and Cyril have said they found him as a baby in swaddling-cloths, so that he might be worshipped in the swaddling-cloths - which is more amazing and great. But Epiphanius of Cyprus and Eusebius of Caesarea and others with them, say that they found him when he was two years old. And the former (group) say that two years before Christ would be born in Bethlehem, the star appeared to the Magi beforehand in Persia. And between preparation for the way and the journey on the way two (years) elapsed. And when they came and approached the vicinity of the country of Judaea, Christ was born in Bethlehem. And thus they entered (and) found him as a baby wrapped in swaddling-cloths. The holy Mar John says as follows:

> For it also appears to me that the star appeared to the Magi a great while beforehand, because their way would have been finished (only) in a great length of time that at its end they should coincide with <the day of>[1] Christ's birth. He would be worshipped in swaddling-cloths where the greatness <and>[2] the miracle <of> the matter would be known.

Sixth explanation: in what way the babes were killed. And we say, in this way: when the guards and soldiers who were sent by Herod went to kill the children, there was a child whom they snatched from its mother's arms and killed; they snatched it from her alive and gave it (back) to her dead. There was (a mother) who, when they wished to take it from her, did not give it to them, and they killed it in her arms. There was one they killed when it was sitting down and there was one they killed when it was crawling.

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1. MSS: "- he says -". 2. MSS: of.

1 ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܢܫܩܐ ܠܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܐܘ ܠܒܗܡܬܐ ܐܘ ܠܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܥܠ ܚܝ ܐܘ ܡܝܬ ܐܘ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܢܫܩ ܠܒܗܡܬܐ ܐܘ ܠܒܪ ܐܢܫ

And there was one they killed when it had hold of its mother's breast. And another they killed when it was awake, another when it was asleep; another they killed when it was ill, another when it was well; and another when it was prattling, and another when it was silent and still. And there was another whose mother had bathed him beforehand; she returned and bathed in its blood after it was killed, and carried it. Some inquire: "How many babes", they say, "were killed?" And this is not something known, but for fanciers of trifles they pretend, saying that Herod sent forty chief executioners, and with each chief forty assassins, and each of the assassins killed forty children. Therefore the executioners were forty and the assassins, those with them, were 1600, and the children killed were 64,000. This is not believed by the orthodox, but we have written it for the amusement of the simple folk.

Seventh explanation. Whether there was clamour and wailing when the babes were killed, or not. And we say, there was. And this is clear from three (considerations). One, from the many and numberless killings which took place there. Second, from the fact that for the most part there was no house in which there was no one killed - as the case in Egypt. Third, because there was a great dispute there, in that when the soldiers came to a child to kill him, there would be some who said, "He is two years old", while others would say, "He is not". And others would say, "He is more than two", and others, "He is less than two". And because of this the clamour and dispute and wailing increased. And then, in truth, there was a great upset there.

Eighth explanation: who the cause of the killing of the children was: Christ or Herod. Now some impiously say that Christ was the cause that the

ܡܠܦܢܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܫܘܒܚ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܒܗ ܕܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܘܩ ܠܗ ܒܥܠܡ ܗܢܐ ܘܠܥܠܡ ܕܐܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܒܫܡܗ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܕܐܢܬ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ

children should be killed, he concerning whom you say that he came to give life to all! And we say to them, one of two (people) was the cause of the killing of the children, either Christ or Herod, for there is no one else who could have been the cause of their killing. And that Christ was not the cause of the killing of the children is clear from these proofs.

1. Just as (it was) not David, now, (who) was the cause of the eighty priests whom Saul killed, but Saul who killed them;[1] and just as it was not Elijah (who) was the cause of the killing of the captain of fifty and of the fifty with him, but <the son>[2] of Ahab and of Jezebel, who sent them after Elijah;[3] so (it was) not Christ (who) was the cause of the killing of the children, but Herod who killed them.

2. Again we say, just as (it was) not Simon Kepha who was the cause of the killing of the soldiers who were guarding him, nor the angel who brought him out, but he, Herod, who killed the guiltless soldiers,[4] so (it was) not Christ who was the cause of the killing of the children, but Herod who killed them. For Herod too, the one who confined Simon in prison, ought to have discerned thus. If he saw the gates of the prison opened or the walls broken through or ladders placed (for escape), let him accuse the soldier guards of negligence and so kill them. But if he saw the gates shut, the walls preserved, and the chains which were fastened on the hands of the soldiers who were guarding Simon - they having been bound to him with them[5] - he ought to have attributed what had occurred to the power of God and not to the negligence of the guards. For if he had thus examined and judged, not only would be not have killed

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1. 1 Sam 22.18; cf. 22.22 where David does admit responsibility.
2. Some such word, referring to Ahaziah, has evidently dropped out.
3. 2 Ki 1.9-12.
4. Ac 12.3-11.
5. Ac 12.6.

ومن الذي يستطيع أن يقول: أنا طهرت قلبي، أنا نقي من خطيتي؟ ٢٠ أين هو الذي لم يخطئ قط في حياته؟ ٢١ أين هو الذي لم يرتكب أي خطأ؟ ٢٢ أين هو الذي لم يعمل أي شر؟ ٢٣ أين هو الذي لم يكذب قط؟ ٢٤ أين هو الذي لم يسرق قط؟ ٢٥ أين هو الذي لم يقتل قط؟ ٢٦ أين هو الذي لم يزن قط؟ ٢٧ أين هو الذي لم يشهد زورا قط؟ ٢٨ أين هو الذي لم يسرق قط؟ ٢٩ أين هو الذي لم يقتل قط؟ ٣٠ أين هو الذي لم يزن قط؟ ٣١ أين هو الذي لم يشهد زورا قط؟ ٣٢ أين هو الذي لم يسرق قط؟ ٣٣ أين هو الذي لم يقتل قط؟ ٣٤ أين هو الذي لم يزن قط؟ ٣٥ أين هو الذي لم يشهد زورا قط؟

the soldiers, but also he would have worshipped and confessed and praised the one who performed this miracle. But he had the soldiers killed when they did not deserve killing. And hence (it was) not Simon (who) was the cause of the killing of the soldiers, nor the angel who brought him out, but he, Herod, who iniquitously killed them. So too this other Herod ought to have examined and said, "Lo, (it is) the Magi (who) have betrayed me and deceived me and wronged me. What wrong have the children done, who know nothing of either betrayal or deceit?" And again, he ought to have sent to Bethlehem and inquired exactly whither the Magi entered and to whom, and what they did. And thence he would have learned that the Magi came, offered offerings, worshipped him, and went to their country by another way, and that the child and its parents went to Egypt that night. And when he had learned these things, he would have suppressed his vexation and calmed his anger, and thus he would have refrained from the killing of the children. And again, he ought to have considered thus: "The one who has drawn and brought Magi by means of a star from Persia for his worship - not only I cannot kill (even) his shadow, but not even the whole world (can) unless he himself wishes". But he did not consider any of these things, because his mind was blinded by envy. And seeing he did not see, and he heard and did not hear. It is inferred, therefore, that Herod was the cause of the killing of the children, and not Christ.

3. Again, we say, neither was Christ the cause of the killing of the Apostles and martyrs in that he said, "Lo, I am sending you like sheep among wolves",[1] and, "Do not fear those who kill the body",[2] but the

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1. Mt 10.16. 2. Mt 10.28.

1 ܡܠܝ ܗܘ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܢ ܕܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܕܢܝܠ
ܡܠܝ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܢ ܕܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܕܢܝܠ[1]
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܝ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܢ ܕܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܕܢܝܠ

tyrants who killed them iniquitously. So neither was he the cause of the killings of the children in that he was born in Bethlehem, but Herod who killed them iniquitously.

Ninth explanation: for what reason God allowed those children to be killed. And some say, he allowed those children to be killed because of this: so that

All the Jews would hear: the thing that Herod did.
By the children, thus they learned: of Christ, that he was born.

Others say, so that the prophecy of Jeremiah who said concerning them, "A voice was heard in Ramatha", etc., might be fulfilled.[1] And these are not the true interpretations. We say, because of three (reasons) God allowed the children to be killed. One, so that they might not be like their fathers, an evil and rebellious generation, and might share in the pious blood of his crucifixion. Second, so that he might fill up the kingdom of heaven, which had long been depleted, with children who acted valiantly. They do not enter it as soon as they are killed; rather, it was that they should become hostages at the start of the way of the dispensation, and at his latter coming be (considered) worthy of entrance into the kingdom. As to how, attend. Indeed, everything we suffer accidentally we suffer because of two kinds (of cause): either because of our wrongs and our sins, or because a payment and reward on account of it is given to us by God. And this is clear, that it is so, from the fact that Paul said concerning the one who committed adultery, "Deliver this one to Satan for the destruction of his body that in the spirit he may be saved in the day of Our Lord";[2] and from the fact that when Shimei reviled David,

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1. Mt 2.18, Jer 31.15. 2. 1 Cor 5.5.

1 ומלכים ־ וצבאם ־ ואת־הבהמה ומה בעיר כל שללה תבזו לכם והכית את כל העיר לפי חרב׃ ויקח יהושע את כל
2 העיר האל ואת מלכה כאשר עשית ליריחו ולמלכה עשו לה׃ רק השלל ובהמתה תבזו לכם שים לך מאחרי העיר׃
3 ויקם יהושע וכל עם המלחמה לעלות על העי שלח יהושע את שלשים אלף איש גבורי החיל וישלחם לילה׃
4 ויצום לאמר ראו אתם ארבים לעיר מאחרי העיר אל תרחקו מן העיר כל אתם נכונים׃ ואני וכל העם אשר אתי
5 נקרב אל העיר והיה כאשר יצאו אלינו כבראשנה ונסינו לפניהם׃ ויצאו אחרינו עד נתקנו אתם מן העיר
6 ואמרו נסים הם לפנינו כנסים הראשונים ונסינו לפניהם׃ ואתם קמתם מן המארב ושמתם את העיר לכדה
7 והעיר בערו באש כדבר יהוה תעשו ראו צויתי אתכם׃ וישלח יהושע ויהלכו המארב ויבאו אל המקום אשר
8 לאורב וישבו בין בית־אל ובין העי מים לעי בתוך העם הזה׃ ויהושע לן בלילה ההוא בתוך העם׃ וישכם
9 יהושע בבקר ויפקד את העם ויעל הוא וזקני ישראל לפני העם העי׃ ויעלו כל אנשי המלחמה אשר עמו
10 ויקרבו ויבאו נגד העיר ויחנו מצפון לעי והגיא בינו׃ וכל חמשת אלפים איש לקח ויארב אתם בין בית־אל
11 ובין העי מים לעי בתוך העם׃ ויראו את מלך העי וימהרו וישכימו ויצא אנשי העיר לקראת ישראל
12 למלחמה הוא וכל עמו למועד לפני הערבה והוא לא ידע כי ארב לו מאחרי העיר׃ ויהושע וכל ישראל
13 נגפים לפניהם וינסו דרך המדבר׃ ויזעקו כל העם אשר בעיר לרדף אחריהם ויקראו אחרי יהושע וינתקו
14 מן העיר׃ ומלך העי ראו ויבהלו וישכימו ויצאו אנשי העיר לקראת ישראל למלחמה הוא וכל עמו למועד
15 לפני הערבה והוא לא ידע כי ארב לו מאחרי העיר׃ ויהושע וכל ישראל נגפים לפניהם וינסו דרך המדבר׃
16 ויזעקו כל העם אשר בעיר לרדף אחריהם ויקראו אחרי יהושע וינתקו מן העיר׃ ומלך העי ראו ויבהלו וישכימו
17 ויצאו אנשי העיר לקראת ישראל למלחמה הוא וכל עמו למועד לפני הערבה והוא לא ידע כי ארב לו מאחרי

1 ומלכים LH. 2 העיר H. 3 > LH. 4 ויום LH. 5 -כפ H. 6 ל L.
7 > LH. 8 מקומכם P. 9 +שם H. 10 ב H. 11 + והכתם LH.
12-12 red LH. 13-13 וכל LH. 14 +כפ H. 15 מקום P. 16 הגבעה L^{3}H.
17 ומלכו C. 18 מקומכם LH. 19 מקומכם LH.

David commanded that he should not be killed;[1] and from the fact that David said, "See my subjection and my labour, and forgive me all my sin".[2] And these (examples are) concerning wrongs and sins. (As to) that concerning reward and payment, the proof-case of Job the righteous suffices for us. Therefore everything we suffer accidentally we suffer because of two kinds (of reasons): either because of wrongs and sins, or because of reward and payment. And the children who were killed do not suffer in that first way, for neither did they wrong anyone nor had they any sins <. . .>[3] a reward in the kingdom of heaven, God allowed them to be killed. Third, again, God allowed them to be killed because he did not force Herod's free will. Thus neither does he force the free will of anyone who performs any evil (act) whatever, because free will is a great gift that God gave to men at the beginning of their creation. And God never takes back his gifts.

Tenth explanation: whether the children who were killed are martyrs or not. And we say, they are true martyrs. And this is clear from the fact that they were killed for the sake of Christ. But if anyone objects and says, "How are they martyrs, when they were not baptized?", we say, baptism is of many kinds. Lo, we have written (on this) at length in (our commentary on) the Gospel of Matthew at the story of the baptism. These were baptized with the baptism of blood, the one with which the martyrs were baptized. But if he objects again, "How are they martyrs when (it was) without knowledge (that) they accepted the killing on Christ's account?", we say: in the same way that children accept the gift of baptism without knowledge, and (yet) have the true gift, so also (was)

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1. 2 Sam 16.5-13. 2. Ps 25.18. 3. A line has apparently dropped out.

1 ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܠܗ ܐܝ ܠܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝ ܠܐ ܐܢܬ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܠܗ ܐܝ ܠܐ ܐܢܐ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝ ܠܐ

the killing which these accepted. Without knowledge, they had true martyrdom. So then these children were martyrs, who have been set free from evil things, and who have gone, pure and living in soul, numbered with the martyrs, kept in Paradise, and inheriting the kingdom. But Herod was rewarded here (in this life) thrice: in his sons, in his wife, and in himself that he died in great wretchedness, as the accounts are written about him. And a hard punishment is in store for him there (in the life to come). These things about him are related at greater length by the Ecclesiastical (History) of Eusebius. The chapters on the killing of the babes are finished.

1 ¶ ואמר רבי שמעון בן יוחי בא וראה כמה חביבין ישראל לפני המקום שבכל מקום שגלו
2 השכינה עמהם גלתה עמהם ובכל מקום שחזרו חזרה עמהם. שנאמר ויסע אלהים
3 ממקום אשר דבר את אברהם. ואומר ויעל מעל אברהם. ואומר ויעל אלהים מעל
4 אברהם. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעל אברהם. ואומר
5 ויעל אלהים מעל יעקב. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעל
6 יעקב. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעל יעקב. ואומר
7 ויעל אלהים מעל יעקב. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעל
8 יעקב. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעל יעקב. ואומר
9 ויעל אלהים מעל יעקב. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעל
10 יעקב. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעל יעקב. ואומר
11 ויעל אלהים מעל יעקב. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעל
12 יעקב. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעל יעקב. ואומר
13 ויעל אלהים מעל יעקב. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעל
14 יעקב. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעל יעקב. ואומר
15 ויעל אלהים מעל יעקב. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעל
16 יעקב. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעל יעקב. ואומר
17 ויעל אלהים מעל יעקב. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעל
18 יעקב. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעל יעקב. ואומר
19 ויעל אלהים מעל יעקב. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעל
20 יעקב. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעל יעקב. ואומר
21 ויעל אלהים מעל יעקב. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעל
22 יעקב. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעליו. ואומר ויעל מעל יעקב. ואומר

1-1 בבל ... בבל] om. T 1 ויעל] + ויעל H. 2-2 black C. 3 יב C. 4+ ויעל L.
5 ויעל L. 6 ויעל] + ויעל H. 7 +cop L. 8 -sey LP. 9 ויעל] + ויעל T. 10 ויעל T.
11 ויעל L. 12-12 >L. 13 +sey H. 14 ויעל T. 15 -cop H. 16 > H. 17 ויעל T.
18 ויעל L. 19 ויעל H.

By the same Bar Kepha, chapters about the circumcision of Our Lord.

First chapter: what the foreskin is. And we say, the foreskin is the skin and flesh that covers over the reproductive member, in the form of a kind of mask.

Second chapter: what circumcision is. And we say, it is the cutting off of the ~~skin~~ flesh that covers over the reproductive member. But again, circumcision is a sign, a mark, a kind of seal set on the reproductive member - as God said concerning it to Abraham, "It shall be a sign of the covenant between me and you",[1] and as Paul said concerning Abraham, "He received circumcision as a sign, and a seal of the righteousness of his faith when (still) in uncircumcision".[2]

Third chapter: and who gave circumcision. And we say, God.

Fourth chapter: and to whom circumcision was given. And we say, to Abraham, as is made clear by the book of Genesis.

Fifth chapter: for what reason God gave circumcision to Abraham. And we say, so that it might be a sign, that by it the covenant which God established with him and with his seed, might be confirmed, and which everyone who sees should recognize and understand that God established a covenant with Abraham and with his seed, and that also he will realize the covenant for them. (This would happen) in this way: the book of Genesis, now, has said that God established a covenant with Abraham that he would make him the father of many nations, (and) also that he would cause his seed to inherit the land of Canaan, that he would be God for them, and that they should be his people.[3] Again, God gave circumcision to Abraham so that he might have a mark by which they should be distinguished from the idol-worshipping nations, in the fashion of sheep marked by their owner so that they may be distinguished from a foreign flock. (It is) just as ~~God~~ he gave us, too, baptism

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1. Gn 17.11. 2. Ro 4.11. 3. Gn 17.1-8.

C81a
L43b
P48a2

1 ומה | [1]בעבור שהיה | לפניהם כי יבואו מלך. ויהיה כי מי שיבוא | ומה
[2]שהיה. ויהיה כי יבוא מלך מצרים ויהיה מלחמה. ומלך. ומלחמה [3]ויהיה
מלחמה בשנה. ויבואו כי יבוא ∴ ויהיה כי ויהיה לפני מלך צרפת ∴ ויבואו כי
5 ויבואו [4]ויהיה [5]כי. ויבואו [6]ויהיה [7]שיבואו כאלה ויהיה כי יבוא מלך.
ויבואו [8]ויהיה [9]ויבואו. ויהיה ויבואו ויהיה מלחמה ויהיה ∴ ויבואו
ויהיה ∴ ויבואו כמו ויהיה. ויהיה ויבואו:ויהיה ויבואו. ויבואו ויהיה
ויבואו ∴ ויבואו כי יבוא ויהיה [10]ויבואו. ויהיה ויבואו ויהיה כי יבוא מלך
10 ויבואו. ויבואו כמו ויהיה | ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו כי [11]ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו H54a
ויהיה כי יבוא מלך. ויבואו [12]ויהיה ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו
ויבואו ויהיה כי. ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו ויהיה
ויבואו ויהיה כי יבוא מלך. ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו
ויהיה כי יבוא מלך. ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו ויהיה
15 ויבואו ויהיה כי יבוא מלך. ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו
ויהיה כי יבוא מלך. ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו ויהיה
ויבואו ויהיה כי יבוא מלך. ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו
ויהיה כי יבוא מלך. ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו ויהיה
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20 ויהיה כי יבוא מלך. ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו ויהיה
ויבואו ויהיה כי יבוא מלך. ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו ויהיה ויבואו

1 -sey L. 2 ויהיה H. 3-3 ויהיה HC ויהיה PR text L.
4 ויבואו HMZ 5 + ויהיה struck out P. 6 +sey HM. 7 ויבא C. 8 ויבואו C.
9 + ויבואו struck out P. 10 ויהיה L 11-11 >L. 12 + ויהיה H. 13 ויהיה L.
14 ויבואו L. 15 ויבואו H ויבואו L^vidMZ. 16 >H. 17 + ויהיה L.

by which we should be distinguished from the unbaptized, as Mar Ephrem has said in his hymns on the festival of Epiphany:

By the first mark, he distinguished Nation from nations;
By the second mark, he distinguished nations from Nation.

Again we say, God gave circumcision to Abraham so that through the blood which went forth from it, the covenant which he established with him should be confirmed, because both the Testaments were confirmed with blood - as Paul said: that first one with the blood of animals, and this second one with the blood of the Son of God.[1] There are two circumcisions, one of the flesh, and one of the heart by which evil things are circumcised (off) from it. And (there are) two foreskins, one of the body, and the other of sin which covers over the heart. Again we say, God gave circumcision to Abraham so that by this fleshly circumcision he might understand that spiritual circumcision, and through this open thing he might recognize that hidden thing. Indeed, too, Abraham and Moses and Joshua the son of Nun, and the other just men like them, having been found worthy of divine favour, understood beforehand the true matters of the Gospel, through the symbols and types which they practised. From circumcision they understood holy baptism; from the Tent of Meeting, the church; from the lamb that was sacrificed, Christ who is the true Passover.[2] And this is clear from the fact that from time to time they suspended circumcision, as we are going to discuss.

Sixth chapter: at how many days old God commanded that the one to be circumcised should be circumcised. And we say, at eight days old. And even though, indeed, Abraham was ninety-nine years old when he was circumcised, and Ishmael was thirteen years old when he was circumcised,[3] yet after Abraham God commanded that at eight (days) old the one to be circumcised should be circumcised. For so it is written in the book of the Pentateuch, "God said to Abraham, 'At eight days old

1 ... ...

every male among you shall be circumcised throughout your generations'".[1]

Seventh chapter: why God commanded that the one to be circumcised should be circumcised at eight days old and not on the seventh day or on the sixth day or on one of the (other) days before the eighth. And we say, so that hence the dissolution of the Sabbath might, with a symbol, come in (to force). For he who was born on the Sabbath was circumcised on the Sabbath perforce, for there turn out to be eight days from Sabbath to Sabbath. So too Christ said, "And on the Sabbath you circumcise a man".[2] Again, God commanded that the one who should be circumcised should be circumcised on the eighth day, because the eighth day, and again circumcision, typify the new world to come. And the one who is circumcised on the eighth day signifies that he has let go from him the old age of this world and has symbolically received the new world to come - in that uncircumcision signifies this old world and circumcision typifies the new world to come. And it is clear that uncircumcision signifies this old world, from the fact that God commanded that the one who is born should remain seven days as uncircumcised, and in these seven days he was considered unclean by the Law. Meanwhile, the foreskin which remained with him seven days, signifies this old world, which completes a cycle in seven days. Indeed, the holy Gregory the Theologian has said, "The eighth day typifies the new world to come". Again, God commanded that the one to be circumcised should be circumcised on the eighth day, because on the eighth day[3] Christ was going to rise from the dead, and commit to his disciples the baptism which circumcision had typified beforehand. For after Christ rose from the grave, he said to his disciples, "Go, make disciples, and baptize all nations in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit".[4]

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1. Gn 17.10,12. 2. Jn 7.22. 3. Sc. Sunday.
4. Mt 28.19.

ܗܘ ܕܟܝܠ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ
ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܐܚܪ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܘܬܦ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܒܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܥܠ ܫܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܝ.
ܡܫܬܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܝ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܬܪܝܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܐܚܪ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܘܬܦ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܒܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܥܠ ܫܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܝ.
ܐܠܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܬܠܬ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܐܚܪ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܘܬܦ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܒܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܥܠ ܫܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܝ.
ܡܫܬܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܝ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܐܪܒܥ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܐܚܪ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܘܬܦ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܒܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܥܠ ܫܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܝ.
ܐܠܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܚܡܫ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܐܚܪ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܘܬܦ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܒܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܥܠ ܫܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܝ.
ܗܟܢܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܬ ܓܒܪܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܐܚܪ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܘܬܦ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܒܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܥܠ ܫܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܝ.
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Eighth chapter: on what day they used to give a name to the one who was circumcised. And we say, not on any of the seven days on which he was an uncircumcised babe did they give him a name, but on the eighth day, on which they circumcise him. And this is clear from what Luke said concerning John, "And it came to the eighth day. They came to circumcise the c[illegible]d, and they were calling him by the name of his father Zechariah".[1] And concerning Jesus too he said thus: "And when eight days elapsed for the child to be circumcised, his name was called Jesus".[2] It is clear, then, that they did not use to give a name to one who was born until the eighth day, on which he was circumcised, having kept the name for the day of his circumcision. And even today they retain the same custom, not giving a name to a child until that eighth day on which he is circumcised. Now, for what reason (can this be)? Some say, because Abraham, who was the first one who inaugurated circumcision, with his circumcision was also called his name - "You shall not", he said, "be called Abram, but Abraham"[3] - and this custom was handed down and proceeded and came (down to today). And we say, this is not true. And it is clear that it is not true from the fact that Ishmael and all the men of his house, who were circumcised, were not (first) called by names on the day they were circumcised. And this we learn from the first book.[4] But we say, his name was kept for the day of his circumcision because of this: so that with circumcision, which is a sign of the covenant, the name too of the one who is circumcised might come in (to force) and his name might not precede the covenant of God. Again, (it is) so because circumcision typified baptism, and just as there, with one's circumcision his name too was called, so too here, with one's

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1. Lk 1.59. 2. Lk 2.21. 3. Gn 17.5.
4. Gn 17.23.

ܒܝܘܡ ܕܐܬܝܗ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܡܢܗ ܒܝܬ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܕ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܟ 1
ܟܝ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܠܐ ܐܫܟܚ ܠܟ ܐܘ

baptism his name too is called. And doubtless just as here he who is baptizing says that so-and-so is baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, so the one there who circumcised used to say that so-and-so is circumcised in the name of the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob. (This is) even though here (in the case of baptism), the name of each baptismal candidate precedes his baptism, because of the fact that Christians have left off this custom: they name him before they baptize him. Again we say, because of this the Law commanded that no name should be given to a male until the day on which he should be circumcised: because God wished that no name should be known for the old man, nor (any) appellation be found for him. Because these seven days in which he is uncircumcised are the oldness, therefore during them no name was given to him.

Ninth chapter: why circumcision is appointed (to be) on the reproductive member and not on another member. For this mark might have been given on the ear; as it is written in the Law concerning the slave who does not wish to be set free: "Take an awl", it says, "and pierce his ear".[1] And again, this mark could have been on the hand, according to this (text): "This one shall write his hand to the Lord".[2] And again, it might have been that this mark should be between the eyes, as many nations have the custom that when one dies who is their chief they inscribe between his eyes lines of some kind and marks, and they cut off a bit from his ears. So then, why was circumcision given on this the reproductive member and not on another? And we say, because of many (reasons). One, because Abraham's nature was worn out and old; as he himself said, "Shall a child be born to one a hundred

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1. Ex 21.6. 2. Is 44.5.

ܡܬܬܝܗ ܕܟܝܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܠ ܬܫܬܘܕ ܠܐ ܠܐܠܗ ܐܚܪܢܝ ܐܠܐ ܠܗ ܒܠܚܘܕܝ ܘܠܐ ܬܥܒ

years old?"[1] So because God wished to renew Abraham's nature - because of this, he circumcised the member which transmitted the nature, so that the reproduction (effected) by the member would be attributed to divine grace and not to Abraham's nature. Second, because God established a covenant with Abraham and with his seed, as he said, "Behold I establish my covenant with you and with your seed after you".[2] Now, Abraham was present, but his seed were[3] not yet (present) to enter the covenant on their own behalf. God accordingly appointed the mark of circumcision in the<member>[4] from which his seed was transmitted, that this member might be the one standing in place of his seed which were not present, and on behalf of them. Third, again, because the first shame, which entered from the sin of the transgression, began in this the reproductive member. When Adam and his partner, it says, were exposed, "They put together fig leaves and made themselves aprons".[5] But Christ was going to dispel and remove sin and also the shame which entered from it. And for this reason he circumcised this member and not another, signifying that Christ was going to dispel and remove sin and the shame that entered from it.

Tenth chapter. The Eutychians, impious men, wishing to nullify the circumcision of Christ, inquire here saying, "Whence is it inferred that Christ was circumcised? Lo", they say, "Luke the Evangelist has not said plainly that he was circumcised, but (only), 'When eight days elapsed for the child to be circumcised, his name was called Jesus'".[6] But we say to them, neither has Luke written plainly concerning John that he was circumcised, but (only), "When it came to the eighth day, and they came to circumcise the child, they were calling him by the name of his father

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1. Gn 17.17.
2. Gn 17.7.
3. singular throughout.
4. MSS: day.
5. Gn 3.7.
6. Lk 2.21.

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ܒܗ ܡ ܕܐ ܒ| ܗ. ܫܘ ܒܗ ܡ ܕܐ ܒ[5]ܗ ܚ. ܫܘ ܒܗ ܡ ܕܐ ܒ[5]ܗ ܚ. ܫ P50b2
ܡ ܫܘ ܒ| ܗ ܡ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܗ ܚ. ܫ ܘ ܡ ܐ ܒ ܗ ܚ. ܫ ܘ ܡ ܐ ܒ ܗ ܚ. ܫ ܘ ܡ

Zechariah".[1] If, now, from the ordinary disposition of the words you nullify Christ's circumcision, (then) nullify also John's circumcision! - in that Luke sets down (the same) one statement for both of them in the statement of circumcision. Neither about John nor about Christ has he written plainly that they were circumcised, but this alone: "When the eight days elapsed for the child to be circumcised", etc. So then, just as John was circumcised, even though these things are not plainly written, so also Christ was circumcised. Again, it is clear that he was circumcised, from the fact that the Law commanded that no name should be given to a male until he should be circumcised on the eighth day. And Christ was given the name Jesus; so then, he was circumcised. Again, it is clear that he was circumcised, from the fact that if he was not circumcised, Simeon would not have carried him in his arms, nor again would they have been bringing him into the temple.[2] And they would not have allowed him to offer offerings unless he was circumcised, in that the Law considers the uncircumcised as unclean. Again, it is clear that he was circumcised from the fact that Joseph was a just man,[3] and would not have neglected Christ's circumcision, that the commandment of God should not be broken. Again, it is clear that he was circumcised, from the fact that if he was not circumcised, the Jews would not have allowed him to enter their synagogues with them or accomplish all the legal (observances).[4]

Eleventh chapter: why Christ was circumcised. And we say, because of many (reasons). He was circumcised, then, to keep the Law and accomplish the commandments, in that circumcision is the chief and beginning of the commandments of the Law. And he accomplished three stages: a first, second,

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1. Lk 1.59. 2. Lk 2.22-28. 3. Mt 1.19.
4. Cf. Lk 4.16-27.

ܡܢ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܫܬܠܛ ܒܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ׃ ܘܒܫܢܬ ܬܠܬ ܥܣܪ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܗܟܝܠ ܐܡܪ ܡܪܝ ܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܘܟܠ ܥܒܕܘܗܝ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܕܐܪܥܐ ׃ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܒܥ ܠܟ ܒܫܘܒܥܐ ܕܠܐ ܬܫܩܪ ܒܝ ܘܠܐ ܬܫܩܪ ܒܒܢܝ ܒܝܬܝ ׃ ܘܠܐ ܬܫܩܪ ܒܫܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܕܐܪܥܐ ׃ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܒܥ ܠܟ ܒܫܘܒܥܐ ܕܠܐ ܬܫܩܪ ܒ

and third. First (was) the one when by means of his nativity from the Virgin he entered this old world, and in the seven days from his nativity to his circumcision accomplished the things of this old world, because it was his creation. Second (was) the one when he accepted circumcision and was circumcised on the eighth day, and from his circumcision until his baptism, in the thirty years, kept the whole Law and accomplished all its commandments. Third, next, (was) the one when after he was baptized he inaugurated the new world and preached the kingdom of heaven. So then, because of this he was circumcised: to keep the Law and accomplish it. For the beginning of the Law and the entrance to it is circumcision. Again, we say that Christ was circumcised, not for his (own) sake but to renew symbolically the oldness of this world, in that uncircumcision signifies oldness while circumcision indicates newness, as we said above.

Twelfth chapter. The Phantasiasts, those disordered by docetism,[1] wishing to nullify the truth of God the Word's becoming man, enquire here, saying, "If Christ was circumcised, show us what became of the piece of flesh that was cut off from his body through circumcision". But we say these things to them. Have you discovered and come to know all the things that God the Word performed in his becoming man in the flesh, and has this one thing alone remained (hidden) from you? Or is it clear that the things you have not learned outnumber the things you <have>[2] discovered? So then, let this too, with the things which are undiscovered by you, be honoured with silence. Again, they rashly enquire, saying, "From when he was circumcised until he rose from the grave there were thirty-two and a half years. How could the piece of flesh which was cut off from him not

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1. φαντασια.
2. MSS: have not.

ps161 מתמשלות מי מיאמה מפיע | מתמשל מה ביבמות. מיזה מפיע מלי מפמ 1
ביבמות ביבמות. כי אין מלמיד מפיע מה מיבלמות לאי. מיבל פ
C86a מכלה ביה מבמל. מפיע מה[2] מתמשלות מיבל ביה[1] מפמיל מי|מפיע
מיזה. ביבמות מי בבל ÷ מפמה מל מיה מפמיע פ בלמ מפמה מפמל 5
. מבמ מיבלה מפמיפלמ מפיו ביה מל ÷ מפמ[4]מפמיפלמ[3] מי פ מתמשל מה
L47a . ביבמבמ מבמ מיבמ ÷ מפמ מי מבמ מבמ מבל מי.מיבלבמ | ביבמשל מיי מבמ
ביה. ביבמשל מה מיי[9] מיבל ביבמשל מיבמשל ÷ מפמבמ מלמ מיבלמ מפמל מבמ 10
ps162 מבמ מי | ביבמשל מה[8] מיבל ביבמשל מיבל. מפיע ביבמשל מה מיבל מי
H57a .מפיע. מבמבמל ביבמל מי בבל ÷ מתמשלות מיבל ביה | מי מפמע מתמשל מל
מל מה. ביבמשל. מפיע מי מפמע[10]מה[10] ביבמ מפיע פ[6] מבמשל ביבמל מפיע
מתל מבמ מפיע מי ביבמשל מפמל: ביבמשל מה מבמשל[6] ביבמל ביה. ביבמשל 15
מפיע פ מפמע מפמל: ביבמשל מה מבמשל ביבמל ביה. מפמ מיבל מפמל
מי מיאמה מפיע מתמשל מה מפמיפ מי ביבמ מתי[11]מי מיבל מתמשלות
C86b |מפי מפמפמה מפמבמ ביה.ביבמל מפיע מי מתמשלות ביבמל מי מפמ
ביבמ מיבל פ מתמשלות מפמיפלמ

1 + מי H. 2 + ה H. 3 + מי CP. 4 -ה H. 5 מפמבמה H. 6 -sey C
7-7 > L. 8 -sey C. 9-9 C^{mg}. 10-10 מפמשלות L^{vid}M. 11 + מי L.

have perished in all this length of years?" And we say, the piece of flesh which was cut off from his body did not perish, because it was kept without perishing by his omnipotent power. For just as he had the ability to <... so he had the ability to>[1] keep the piece of flesh that was cut off without perishing. For when God should wish something to be, it has perforce to be. Again we say, it is clear that it did not perish from the fact that his embodiment was not from the perishable seed of a man but from the Holy Spirit. Again, it is clear that it did not perish from what David said in the person of Christ to God the Father: "Thou didst not leave my soul in Sheol, nor didst thou let thy pious one see perdition".[2] Again we say: lo, the manna which the Israelites ate in the wilderness: if it remained one night, it spoiled and perished. And God commanded that some of it should be kept in a pot, and it was kept forty years and did not perish.[3] And if, when he wished the manna not to perish, it remained and was kept forty years and did not perish, how much more did the piece which was cut off from his body not perish. Next we say to them, what do you say of the blood of Abel when it was poured out on the ground? Did it perish, or not perish? And if you say it perished, how could it have perished when it was calling to God like something alive?[4] And if you say it did not perish, how could it have been poured out on the ground and not have perished? It is inferred, therefore, through many (considerations) that the piece of flesh cut off from the body of Our Lord through circumcision did not perish.

Thirteenth chapter. Some say, "Is righteousness practised without circumcision, or not?" And we say, righteousness is practised without

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1. A line seems to have dropped out.
2. Ps 16.10.
3. Ex 16.19-20, 32-35.
4. Gn 4.10.

ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܐ ܐܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܬܠܝܐ ܗܘܐ
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܠܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܣܒܪ ܠܢ ܐܚܪܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܣܒܪ ܠܢ ܐܚܪܢ
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܣܒܪ ܠܢ ܐܚܪܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܣܒܪ ܠܢ ܐܚܪܢ
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܣܒܪ ܠܢ ܐܚܪܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܣܒܪ ܠܢ ܐܚܪܢ
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܣܒܪ ܠܢ ܐܚܪܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܣܒܪ ܠܢ ܐܚܪܢ
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܣܒܪ ܠܢ ܐܚܪܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܣܒܪ ܠܢ ܐܚܪܢ
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܣܒܪ ܠܢ ܐܚܪܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܣܒܪ ܠܢ ܐܚܪܢ
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܣܒܪ ܠܢ ܐܚܪܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܣܒܪ ܠܢ ܐܚܪܢ
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܣܒܪ ܠܢ ܐܚܪܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܣܒܪ ܠܢ ܐܚܪܢ

1 ܡܫܝܚܐ L. 2 ܕܡܫܝܚܐ CPvid ܕܡܫܝܚܐ L text H. 3-3 ܡܫܝܚܐ HLMR.
4 ܕܐܬܐ C. 5. ܒܚܫܘܟܐ H. 6 >H. 7 ܡܫܝܚ H. 8 >CHP. 9 ܡܫܝܚ CHP.
10 -ܐ H. 11 +ܟܘܦ H.

circumcision. And it is clear from the fact that circumcision is a fleshly cutting-off and a sign and a mark, and not an agent of righteousness. Again, it is clear from the fact that Seth, Enosh, Enoch, Noah, Melchizedek, and Job, as well as Cornelius, were justified and pleased God without circumcision. And today, too, it is possible for men to be justified without circumcision. Suppose[1] they object and say, "Until circumcision was given by God, no one was required to keep it. But after it was given, one ought to keep it, and if he keeps it he is justified". We say to him, Why, after it was given, did Joseph suspend it with his two sons in Egypt - having rejected the adultery of the Egyptian woman and not having rejected the uncircumcision of his sons?[2] And why did Moses suspend it with one of his sons in Midian,[3] and suspend it from the Israelites forty years?[4] Again, it is clear that righteousness is not practised by circumcision, from the fact that it was not given to women; from the fact that it is given to infants who do not distinguish righteousness from iniquity; and from the fact that many infants die when they are uncircumcised. Again, it is clear from the fact that we see the uncircumcised (Israelites), who suspended it, honoured, and the circumcised, who kept it, disgraced. For lo, those Israelites, who were uncircumcised in the wilderness, were honoured with manna, with quail, with the water from the rock, and with the cloud and with the pillar.[5] And the circumcised, who they were in the land of promise, were led captive to Assyria, to Babylon, as well as to the rest of the other lands. So then, righteousness is not practised with circumcision; rather, it is a sign that was once given to Abraham for the reasons we have said. And today its use is abolished from us: Christ, when he was baptized, abolished circumcision, as he abolished sacrifices through his sacrifice on the cross.

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1. Lit. if. 2. Gn 39.7ff., Gn 41.50-52. 3. Ex 2.22. 4. Jo 5.4-7.
5. Nu 11.31f. (quail), Nu 20.11 (water), Ex 13.21f., 33.9f. (cloud and pillar).

1 [illegible][1] ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܡܪܝ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܒܝ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܕܐ ܠܟ ܡܪܝ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܟ

Fourteenth chapter: whether it is right for Christians to be circumcised or not. And we say, it is not right, because the thing that circumcision preceded and typified has been revealed, which is baptism, and we have received it. And once we are baptized, it is not right that we should again return to the type. Again, it is not right for Christians to be circumcised, in that Christ was circumcised with two circumcisions: the cutting off of flesh, I mean, and baptism. And the one he abolished from us, but the other he gave us. For he did not give us a circumcision of flesh, as he did not give us to eat the Passover or to offer sacrifices, or again to purify ourselves with the sprinkling of blood. Rather, he gave us baptism, which is a circumcision without hands; as Paul said: "In him you were circumcised with a circumcision without hands, by a putting off of the flesh of sins, by the circumcision of Christ. And you have been buried with him in baptism, and in it you have risen with him".[1] And he calls baptism "a circumcision without hands", in that (it is) not the hands of the priest who baptizes (which) cut off the mask of sin which covers over the heart, as the hands of the one who circumcises cut off the flesh of the foreskin, but the working of the Holy Spirit. Again we say, it is not right for Christians to be circumcised, because just as once the uncircumcised were unclean before God, so today (it is) not those who are uncircumcised in their flesh (who) are unclean before God, but they who are uncircumcised in their heart. (It is) as the prophet Moses said in Deuteronomy: "Circumcise the foreskin of your heart and do not stiffen your neck any more".[2] "And the Lord God will circumcise your heart and the heart of your seed forever."[3]

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1. Col 2.11f. 2. Dt 10.16. 3. Dt 30.6.

1 ולוי L. 2 קרוא ואחרים H קרוא ואחר CP text L. 3-3 משפטים L.
4 וכיוצא H. 5 + קרוא H. 6-6 an additional section H. 7 ואחרונה L.
8-8 > MR.

And Jeremiah said, "Be circumcised to the Lord, and remove the foreskin of your heart, men of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem.[1] Again we say, it is not right for Christians to be circumcised, because circumcision is not an agent of righteousness but a preparer of paganism. Indeed the Christian who has been circumcised, really prepares himself for paganism. Again we say, it is not right for Christians to be circumcised, because the Apostle forbids Christians to be circumcised, saying thus: "Beware of evildoers; beware of the cutting off of flesh".[2] And again he said, "If you should be circumcised, Christ is of no advantage to you".[3] And again he said, "Circumcision is nothing, nor uncircumcision",[4] but faith perfected in love. Again, too, the canons set down by the Holy Fathers forbid the faithful and decree that they should not be circumcised. May we be girded with their prayers as a breastplate of the Spirit, and be arrayed in the glorious robe forever. Amen. The chapters on the circumcision of Our Lord are finished.

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1. Jer 4.4.
2. Phil 3.2.
3. Gal 5.2.
4. Gal 6.15.

Commentary

The notes which follow do not attempt to give references to other writers for every theme and statement in the homilies. In particular, no references to later writers like DbṢ or Bar Hebraeus are usually given where they are simply reproducing MbK or another earlier extant source. The notes are mainly concerned to point out uncertain points in the text and translation, and to work out in detail, as far as possible, the statements in the introduction by giving the sources and ancestry of MbK's exegesis.

The Gannat Bussame is cited in MS Brit.Mus. Or. 9353, in which Syriac letters represent page openings. In my citations, a stands for the right-hand page and b for the left. It may be useful to list the sections of the GanB from which the citations are taken:

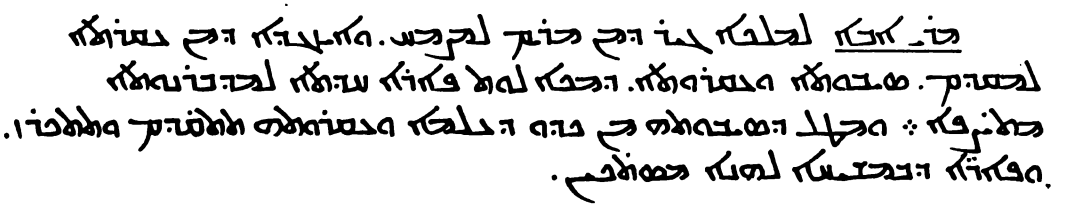
Sunday	Lection	Page opening
1st in Advent	Gn 17.1-27	ܐ
	Lk 1.1-25	ܒ
2nd in Advent	Lk 1.26-56	ܓ
3rd in Advent	Lk 1.57-80	ܕ
4th in Advent	Mt 1.18-25	ܗ
Christmas	Lk 2.1-20	ܘ
1st after Christmas	Mt 2.1-23	ܙ
2nd after Christmas	Lk 2.21-52	ܚ

Line numbers refer throughout to the English translation of the text.

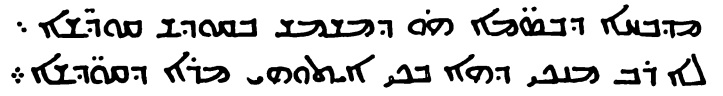
No. 1

1.1:19-23 the world...which had become old etc. MbK's allegorical exegesis of the barrenness of John's parents is also found in the GanB (11a-b):

> Mar Abba It is for the king to spring forth from Mary and the emissary to precede from the barren one. Oldness and barrenness are henceforth attended to by the dispensation (and brought) to (bear) new fruit. (This is) because the already old age of the world and its barrenness should be heralded beforehand and fruits in Christ are expected from it.



1.1:24-.2:6 At the right of the altar...the fulfiller of mysteries had come = Ephrem, CDiatess i.10 (Syriac, p. 8), except the second sentence "His right hand opened up baptism..." which is an expansion. Cf. JS's similar expression (Sah.651:4f.) in making Elizabeth say to Mary:



1.2:6ff. And (he was announced) at the season of Atonement: evidently an inference from the burning of incense (Lk 1.9). This was required on the Day of Atonement by Lv 16.12-13, which would also imply that Zechariah was the high priest. This exegesis is traditional and forms part of a chronological scheme; for this, see on 2.1:5-16. It is therefore tradition and not invention (for which BEDJAN blames him, ii.XII) when JS (ii.151) takes up the identification of the

annunciation with the Day of Atonement. TbK also dates it to 10 Tishri I (ii.76); cf. IM (ס[149]). A verbally quite similar connection is made by the GanB (11b,anon.): John was conceived after the Day of Atonement

> because the preacher whose nativity is (thus) indicated was to start from "pardon". "Repent and believe in the Gospel" - pardon perfect and complete in every way, very like in connotation to the Day of Atonement.

ܕܒܬܘܒ ܘܗܝܡܢܘ ܒܒܫܪܬܐ ܕܫܘܪܝܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܡܫܬܡܥ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܝܘܡ ܟܦܘܪ̈ܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܟܪܙܐ ܗܘ ܕܢܫܪܝ ܡܢ ܫܪܝܐ ܘܗܘ ܡܫܬܡܥ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܝܘܡ ܟܦܘܪ̈ܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܟܪܙܐ ܗܘ ܕܢܫܪܝ ܡܢ ܫܪܝܐ ܘܗܘ

1.3:4 "Now in the days of Herod". Cf. also 1.5:4-8. For the widely attested exegesis referring Jacob's prophecy in Gn 49.10 to Herod, cf.: Ephrem, CDiatess ii.12 and CGen ad loc.; Cyril, Hom. 1 on Lk (9 [1]); Theo. Mop. fragment 6 (REUSS,98); Philoxenus's commentary ("chapter 5", Add. 12154 fol. 50b); GB on Mt 2.1 (fol. 20b2); TbK ii.71:9-12; and GanB ס-ר. The allegorical expansion in lines 6f. seems to be peculiar to MbK.

1.3:13-20 Now two things are understood etc. Cf. GanB (11b, anon. or perhaps Mar Abba whose name is the last one to appear):

> It is not set down to show only that they had no child, but that they were not going to have. And lo, corresponding to "They had no child" the fact that Elizabeth was barren is alone responsible. This, then, is to be considered along with "They were advanced in their years" to be responsible for "They had no child". For they were not "advanced in their years" at their beginning for childbearing to be out of the question, for at one time they were young and strapping, the age for childbearing par excellence.

ܠܐ ܐܬܟܬܒ ܠܡܚܘܝ ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܐܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܠܡܚܘܝ ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܐܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܦ

ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܪ ܠܝ ܐܠܐ

Mar Abba concerning the name John. Some have transmitted probable (explantions): "For the pardon of the people you pray, O Zechariah", (is) the word from the person of the angel to Zechariah. "Behold your prayer has been heard and your wife will bear you a son, and you will call his name John" - this name carrying the significance of pardon, not of the people alone but of the world.

ܡܪ ܐܒܐ ܥܠ ܫܡܐ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ ܐܝܬ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܡܚܘܠܬܐ ܐܝܬ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܥܡܐ ܙܟܪܝܐ ܡܢ ܦܘܡ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܠܙܟܪܝܐ ܗܐ ܨܠܘܬܟ ܫܡܝܥ ܐܢܬ ܐܢܬ ܘܐܢܬ ܬܝܠܕ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܘܬܩܪܐ ܫܡܗ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܕܗܢܐ ܫܡܐ ܡܫܬܘܬܦ ܠܡܚܘܠܬܐ ܠܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܒܠܚܘܕܝܗܘܢ ܐܠܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܟܠܗ

1.5:19f. And the emissary of both cases was the same. Ephrem, HNat ii.20 also notices that Gabriel was only sent "to two chaste old men and a virgin girl" and that "their natures were similar and alike in will".

1.6:13 the apostolic model. Cf. JS (Sah.684:7f):

ܫܠܝܚ ܡܫܬܘܬܦ ܠܗ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܫܠܝܚܘܬܗ ܘܒܡܠܐܟ ܠܗ ܒܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܗ

1.7:1-19 "And he shall be filled with the Holy Spirit" etc. John's leaping in Elizabeth's womb (Lk 1.41) was commonly (though apparently not by Ephrem) taken as the fulfilment of this prophecy: see e.g. JS Sah.645f. The uniqueness of this gift to John is also emphasized by IM ad loc. (ܐ[147]).

1.7:19-8:4 "in the spirit and power of Elijah" etc. A similar comparison of John and Elijah is offered by IM ad loc. (ܐ[148]), but it is not close enough to MbK's to suggest any literary kinship. Closer, especially to 1.7:21f., is the GanB (ܒb):

The two of them are alike in truth! (One may) see this in many (respects), and especially in that they point out the

Messiah from close by and are a cause of conversion for all who come towards him.

ܒܗܝ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܩܪܝܒ ܐܝܬ ܘܥܠܬܐ ܗܘ ܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܐܬܐ ܒܗ.

1.7:25-.8:1 both of them were priests. Elijah's priesthood is apparently inferred from his sacrifice on Mt. Carmel in 2 Ki 18. Syriac sources emphasize that John the Baptist, son of Zechariah the priest, was also a priest, and was the means (at Christ's baptism) of transmitting the priesthood to him. For early sources see Ephrem, CDiatess iv.3 and the others cited by MURRAY, 55 and 178f. Cf. TbK (ii.76): "It needed a priest to baptize the high priest of our faith".

1.8:5-12 "He will turn the hearts of the fathers to the sons". The interpretation "sons" = apostles and "fathers" = Jewish leaders, goes back at least to Severus (on Lk 1.17, Greek text ed. MAI, 408):

> The Jews were the "fathers" both of John and of the apostles, but to the Gospel they were blinded from arrogance and envy and unfaith. As loving sons, therefore, John and the apostles with him, led the unseeing Jews by the hand and pointed out the truth, wiping the eyesore of unfaith.

The same interpretation appears in IM ad loc. (ה[148]) and on Mt 12.27 (ﻫ[53]; cf. DbṢ 322 [238]), and is repeated in the GanB, ﻫb. Mt 12.27 is taken as support by referring Jesus's words "By whom do your sons cast them out?" to the apostles.

1.9:22f. he receives punishment in hearing and language. MbK assumes that Zechariah was made deaf as well as dumb. This is apparently an inference from Lk 1.62 where the bystanders have to make gestures to Zechariah; Bar Hebraeus ad loc. (128[97]) states

this inference explicitly. The statement in Lk 1.22 ܗܘܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܟܘܦܐ (ܟܘܦܐ = κωφος) no doubt contributed to this exegesis since ܟܘܦܐ unlike ܐܝܠܡ can have the additional sense of "deaf". So DbṢ (on 1.22):

ܟܕ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܟܘܦܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܡܥ ܠܩܠܐ ܕܐܢܫ ܐܠܐ ܠܩܠ ܡܠܐܟ ܝܗ̈ ܕܡܬܓܠܐ ܠܗ ⁘

The appropriateness of Zechariah's punishment is played on differently by Ephrem, CDiatess i.12, 13 (Syr., 10f.): "Now because the mouth doubted (ܐܬܦܠܓ) about the petition, his speech was separated (ܐܬܦܠܓ) from him". Ephrem brings this into connection (i.13) with the lex talionis. Cf., differently yet, GanB (ـ b): Zechariah's doubts concerned God the Word, so the word was the place of his punishment. (There were still further possibilities: Origen (on Jn 6.17) links the deprivation of Zechariah's voice with his disbelief in the birth of the Voice.) Also just possibly MbK's statement, "And perhaps it was something advantageous that...the secret should be kept", owes something to the different exegesis presupposed by IM ad loc. (ה - ס [148]). IM denies that Zechariah's dumbness was a punishment; rather it was imposed so that the story of the angel's appearance would not be subject to ridicule and disbelief.

1.13:5 here (it is) the fatted ox. For Christ as the ox obviating the old sacrifices, cf. Aphrahat, Dem. ii (PS 1.57) and JS, Sah.759.

1.13:15 sin worked the earth in a furrow. Text and translation are precarious. For this dubious sense of ܥܒܕ, cf. Thes.1388f.

1.14:19f. the monastery of Mar Sergius on Mt. Ṣahia. The

anonymous biography of MbK (B.O.ii.218f.) also says that he was a monk there, and he seems to have been its main glory. For the location and history of this monastery, see FIEY, "Les Saints Serge", 105-8.

No. 2

2.1:4f. at a time determined by months. DbṢ ad loc. (236 [190f.]) states that events in Scripture may be determined in time with reference to other events, or undetermined at all, or determined by times (ܒ ܐܬܪ) Expressions with years, months, days, etc. are examples of the last. He proceeds: ܗܟܝ ܕ ܡܫܬܪܝ ܕܡ ܡܫܬܪ ܠܗ ܠܡܫܬܪ ܕ ܐܬܪ ܡܫܬܪ ܒ ܐܬܪ ܡܫܬܪ ܕ. DbṢ's discussion must come from MbK's commentary: in particular, the use of diagrams such as DbṢ's here is characteristic of his writing. (See, e.g., BRAUN, 57, 67, etc.).

2.1:5-16. "the sixth month"...from the conception of Elizabeth. Before the introduction of the Christmas festival in the East, the chronology must have presented few difficulties:

10 Tishri I	John's conception	(the Day of Atonement)
10 Nisan	Annunciation to Mary	(six months later)
6 Kanun II	Christ's birth	(Epiphany, c. nine months later).

A clear and early statement is found in Mar Abba's "Commentary on the Gospel" (NAU, "Mar Aba", 69f.);

> From the fact that he introduced incense on the seventh month, on the tenth, which is the day of their fasting and their humiliation, it is as if he said that he was the high priest of the same year of Our Lord's nativity. So from this seventh

> month, which is Tishri I, on which John was announced, it is inferred that his (sc., Christ's) conception was in the month of Nisan and his nativity in Kanun, because of what the angel said to Mary, "This is the sixth month for her who is called barren".

For all but the identification of Zechariah, cf. also Ephrem, CEx on 12.2-7 (140f.[120]), and JS (ii.152). In this period both the exegesis of Lk 1.8ff. (cf. commentary to 1.1:24ff.) and the motif of Christ's conception on the tenth of the "first of months" (cf. commentary on 2.2:19 and 2.3:16f.) must have been firmly fixed in tradition.

It is usually stated (e.g. LAKE, 607b, WOLSKA-CONUS, SC 159.21 n.9[1]) that the exegesis which made Zechariah the high priest and the date of his annunciation the Day of Atonement, was an invention to justify the date for Christmas of 25 December. This was certainly the use made of it by Chrysostom in his Christmas sermon. This line of reasoning depended, however, on (disingenuously?) synchronizing the Jewish (lunar) 10 Tishri I with the end of September; this was the case in the year of Chrysostom's sermon (USENER, 234-45) but 10 Tishri I might come as late as the middle of October. The discussion of Cosmas, v.9 (SC 159.20-23) seems to show the confusion into which this argument falls when this synchronism is left out.

The exegesis among Syriac writers is, however, apparently independent, counting the 6 + 9 months similarly but starting with the (equally fallacious) synchronization of the Jewish Tishri I with the Syriac (solar) month Tishri I and yielding the scheme set out above.

2.1:17f. in the lunar (month) and not in the solar etc. The

supplanting of 6 Kanun II by 25 Kanun I as the birthday of Christ - accomplished in about the vi cent. in the Syriac world - and the celebration of 25 Adar as the day of the Annunciation, must have threatened the above chronology. It was ironically saved for theology by recourse - entirely correct in itself - to the lunar nature of the Jewish calendar. The earliest source for this solution to the problem seems to be GB, in the fourth memra of his introduction (fol. 14b2). He says:

> In the year 309 of the Greeks, the tenth day of the lunation (ܪܝܫܡ) Nisan fell on the 25th of Adar in the numeration of the Greeks.

Essentially the same explanation is also found in the introduction to MbK's commentary (ch. 23, fol. 30a2). DbṢ transmits it in the name of MbK. The Martyrology of Rabban Ṣaliba (xiv cent., though attributed to Jacob of Edessa) is a later example of this exegesis (PEETERS, 163 [195], and THOMAJEAN, 311 n.4). Also among these later sources, the GanB (ܟ a) seems to be aware of this exegesis, stating that the Day of Atonement was fixed for the tenth of the lunar month, without spelling out the difficulty which this would answer. Although the GanB accepts the 10 Tishri I - 10 Nisan scheme (e.g. ܫ a, ܛ a), it also admits (ܣ a) another theological scheme designed to suit a birth on 25 Dec:

> Ṣeliba Zeka Christ's conception was announced on the same day, the first of Nisan, Sunday, as creation began. He was born according to the natural order, on the twenty-fifth of Kanun I, a little less than nine months.

ܙܟܝܟܐ ܨܠܝܒܐ ܕܒܝܘܡܐ ܗܘ ܒܫܪܝܪܐ ܒܫܡܫܐ ܒܩܕܡ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܒܫܪܝܪܐ ܐܬܒܫܪ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܝܘܡ ܚܕ ܒܢܝܣܢ ܒܫܒܬܐ ܒܫܪܝܪܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܝܘܡ ܚܡܫܣܪ ܒܛܒܝ ܩܢܘܢ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܒܬܫܥ ܝܪܚܐ ܠܡܢܝܢ.

2.2:5 on that sixth day he fell by sin. Cf. Ps-Dion (5[3]):

> On this same sixth day Adam was created, and on it he transgressed the commandment. And on it Our Lord was hung on the cross, and on it salvation came to the whole world.

Ps-Dion and MbK may be following a tradition that the Fall occurred on the same day as Adam's creation, only six hours later. So says MbK on Paradise (PG 111.581f., claiming support from Ephrem, Philoxenus, and JS). For Ephrem, probably see HNat xxvi.9. Cf. Cave of Treasures (28, 202f.[66f., 221-3]) and Cosmas ii.94 (SC 141.412-5). The tradition is originally Jewish: see the sources cited in GINZBERG, v.106 who adds some further Patristic ones. MbK's statement, however, seems to come directly from another source, as shown in the next note.

2.2:13 in the six thousandth year of the world etc. The opinion that Christ's birth actually marked the beginning of the millenium was probably very early modified to remove the millenium to the future (so GELZER, i.24-6). Thus Africanus placed the Nativity in the year 5500, and Aphrahat, Dem. ii.14 (PS 1.77:11) was still looking forward to the year 6000. Africanus's date was followed more or less closely by most Syriac writers, not noticing that they were placing themselves in the millenium. Cf. Cave of Treasures (201[220f.]), Maronite chronicle (54[44]), Michael's survey of dates (90[i.142]), JS (imprecisely, iii.75:5f.), and the discussion of JANSMA, "Hexaméron ", 26,277f. Two more careful scholars, George bp. of the Arabs (RYSSEL, 48-50) and JacE (letter to John the Stylite, ed.NAU,589) are exceptions, both refusing to speculate on the age of the world or the coming of the millenium.

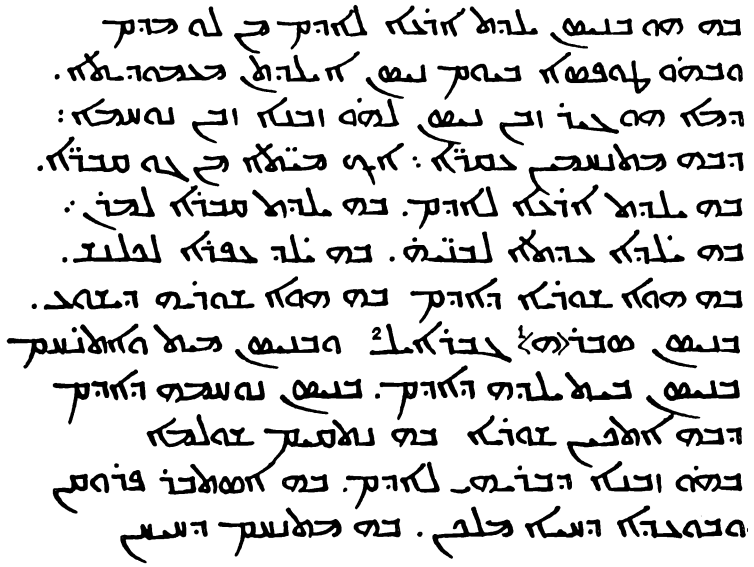
The opinion meanwhile that Christ was born in the year 6000 was preserved in other circles. JS may be presuming it in Epp. 19 and 21 (110:29, 142:13ff.) in speaking of Christ's liberation of Adam kept 6000 years in Sheol. It stands most clearly in the form MbK's source must have taken, in the sermon fragment in Christi Natalem of Hesychius of Jerusalem (PG 93.1449):

> For just as God formed man on the sixth day, and on it he fell, through sin, so too on the sixth day of a thousand (years) (τῃ ϛ' ἡμερᾳ της χιλιαδος), he came upon the earth and saved him.

(For a list of 63 further ancient and modern opinions about this date, see FABRICIUS, 256-65).

2.2:19 in the month of Nisan. A rich fabric was woven around the events of this month - the Creation, the Annunciation, the Resurrection - in early Syriac sources. The dating of Creation to Nisan, the first of months according to Ex 12.1, followed one Jewish tradition (see GINZBERG, v.107) and was almost axiomatic among Christian writers; see e.g. Ephrem, CGen i.8, JS iii.55:6ff., Cosmas v.2 (SC 159.14f. and further in n.2[1]), and GanB ܥ٢a. (The parallelism with Christ's conception of course became less arresting when the feast of the Annunciation was removed to 25 Adar! Cf. for example its summary treatment by Thomas of Edessa (CARR, 60).) MbK discusses why the Resurrection should be in Nisan in homily no. 27 (MS C, fols. 177b-178a) and again makes use of this parallelism. As an early example of all the threads in the fabric, I give the text of an extract "of Mar Isaac, from the memra on Nisan", found in MS Add. 17194, fol. 50b. It seems not to have been printed by Bickell or Bedjan:

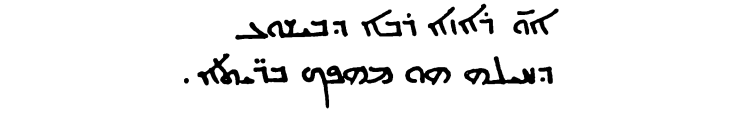
In it, in Nisan, the earth bore Adam from nothing,
And by that type, on a day of Nisan, baptism has borne us.
For the time of Nisan is like a time of revival,
In which the plants are revived like the dead from tombs.
In it the earth bore Adam; in it the tomb bore Our Lord.
In it the church bears its children; in it the dust bears everyone.
In it was Adam's beginning; in it was Christ's beginning.
In Nisan Gabriel announced him, and in Nisan he died and was revived.
In Nisan was Adam's birthday; in Nisan was Adam's revival.
In it the beginning was formed; in it the end will be appointed.
In this time when he created Adam - in it, Our Saviour was announced.
And on the point when our king came alive - on it, our dust was revived.



[1] MS: ...

[2] In mg + ...

2.3:8–20 why...on the tenth of the month. The two reasons are prosaic restatements of Ephrem, HNat xxvi.12, xxvii.3,13. MbK has kept the verb ... (line 11) without Ephrem's play on it:



The exegesis to do with the "completeness" of the number ten is spelled out by TbK (ii.76): "It is an allegory that the time would come, indeed had already drawn near, when all partial revelations would be

bound in Christ's epiphany". Ordinarily, ܡܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܬܟܚ has to be translated "round number": cf. Severus, Ep. 87 (PO 14.148), where JacE's version so describes the number 100 because it equals 10 x 10. This would be an extension of the meaning "integer" which is found e.g. in Jacob's letter on chronology (NAU, "Date", 584 [590 and n.1]).

2.3:16f. the Passover lamb which preceded and typified the Lord etc. MbK's explanation with reference to the lamb in Ex 12 is derived from Ephrem's commentary ad loc. (140f.[120]):

> [v.2] The lamb is a symbol of Our Lord, who came to the womb on the tenth of Nisan... [v.3] Now on the tenth, on which the lamb was confined (ܐܬܚܒܫ), Our Lord was conceived...

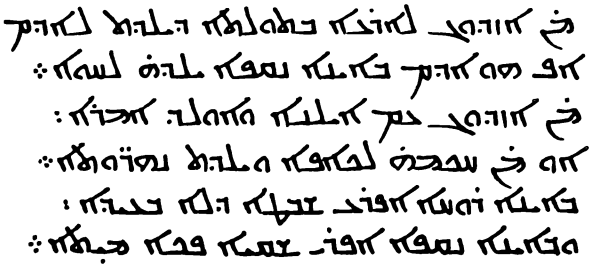
Ephrem repeats this exegesis in CDiatess i.29 and in HNat v.14:

ܐܬܐ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܡܢ ܢܝܣܢ ܕܫܡ
ܒܗ ܕܫܪܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܕܒܪ
ܕܡܫܟܐ ܠܒܝܫܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܐܬܬܐ
ܒܗ ܕܫܪܝܬܐ.

IM on Ex 12 (22[29]) also repeats Ephrem's view, as does the GanB, ٩٢٥a. I cannot make sense of MbK's text ܐܬܚܒܫ even though it is repeated: BÉGUIN's translation "fut immolé" does not suit either the word or the context.

2.3:25-.5:10 we too ask them about the miracles etc.: an eclectic list of miracles, combining miracles in some way comparable to the Incarnation with others less apposite. The former kind are found especially in the middle part of the list, 2.4:10-.5:2. Cf. first of all earlier lists of miracles in which something sterile produced something else. GB on Mt 1.18 (fol. 16a1) says that the Holy Spirit

was responsible for: Adam's creation from the earth, Eve's creation from a rib, the sprouting of the rod, rivers of water from the rock, water from the ass's jawbone, the lamb from the tree, and children from barren women. Except for the last one, GB exactly follows the list which JS makes Mary use to convince Joseph of her virginity (Sah. 750):



JS's list can also be found taken over in the same dramatic context in the memra of Ps-Ephrem on Mary and Joseph (= Sermo i.413-26 in BECK's edition*). Two of these miracles might be especially noticed:

1. How did a tree beget a ram? The appearance of the ram (and even the "tree", which appears in the Tgs but not the Pe) in Gn 22.13 was already regarded as a miracle by Ephrem, CGen xx on 22.13-18. See, besides the authors above, JS also at ii.150:1-2 and Sah.796, and the sugitha ed. KIRSCHNER, 62f. (stanza 42).

2. twelve rivers of water. If his source resembles GB's list, MbK must have added the "twelve" himself. The rock is often depicted in Christian (and Jewish) art with twelve streams issuing from it (see

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* BECK does not use two of the MSS of this work listed by BAUMSTARK, Gesch.50 n.11, viz. Cambridge Add. 2001 and Berlin 179. In addition, the work appears in MSS Harvard Syr. 36 and 59 where I found it before seeing BECK's edition. The text of these two MSS differs in many small ways from BECK's; ~~its~~ their text is more suggestive if not more original in lines 749-59, cited in my Appendix.

NORDSTRÖM) but literary sources are fairly rare if cases of confusion with the wells of Ex 15.27 and Nu 21.16–18 are excluded. The plural ܡܒܘܥ̈ܐ is used of the water from the rock by JS (above and at Sah. 795), Ps-Ephrem, GB, and by Philoxenus (de Trin. et Inc. 112[86]). Twelve streams from the rock are found in ?Ephrem on Nu 21.17 (ER i.263CD):

> They say (ܐܡܪ) that the rock which went with them..., at the time when they stopped, made twelve rivers of water flow out.

Cf. also Ephrem, HArm 42 and the other sources cited by MURRAY, 209f. Jacob of Edessa (WRIGHT, "Two letters",) declines to speak on the subject:

> Concerning the rock which made water flow out, I have nothing to say; nor do I believe anyone who says anything about it.

There would seem to have been some popular exegesis of Nu 20.11, but nothing in writing known to Jacob.

A different, partly overlapping, list of miracles is given by Philoxenus in de Trin. et Inc. (112-7[86-90]). This favours miracles with an inner likeness to the incarnation (e.g. the water of the Nile changed yet unchanged). He includes in common with MbK: the burning bush, the rod becoming a serpent, the water of the Nile, the ash of the furnace, and the mixed fire and hail. The last of these (112[87]) shares MbK's view of wherein the miracle lay:

> And again, how were opposite natures - fire and hail, I mean - mingled with one another, the fire not having been extinguished by the water nor the water dispersed by the fire?

For the same use of the water of the Nile, cf. Theodotus of Ancyra, hom.1 in die nativitatis Domini (PG 77.1357B; Syriac in MS Add. 14601, fols. 65b2-66a1).

No. 2*

The authenticity of this homily is problematic. There are three considerations, of which the last two suggest a negative verdict, but not so forcefully as to overturn the ascription of the text to MbK in the MS.

1. The homily appears only in MS H. But cf. above, pp. 74ff. of the Introduction which point to its presence in other probably early MSS. H in any case has to be respected as at some points witnessing to an early stage in the textual history of the collection.

2. The style of the homily is more complex and elevated than we expect from MbK. The nearest parallels are nos. 1 and 3 which show at least that MbK sometimes proceeded verse by verse, but they are very much less expansive.

3. It has to be doubted whether this homily could derive from or be akin to MbK's commentary on Lk. In the first place, in its overlap with no. 2 (pp. 2*.1-.3:4) we find similar ideas to 2§§i-ii, but expressed entirely differently. Since the close relationship between no. 2 and MbK's commentary has been established by comparison with DbṢ, suspicion must fall on no. 2*. Moreover the close concordance between no. 2 and DbṢ does not obtain with no. 2*, but a much more distant relationship as shown in the notes following.

2*.1:5-.2:8 "the sixth month" etc.: see on 2.1:4f., 15-16.

2*.2:23ff. from the sixth (day): see on 2.2:5.

2*.3:12ff. a virgin is very fitting for the dispensation. DbṢ (238 [192f.]) gives only three reasons: to prove that Christ was not a mere man, to undo the work of Eve, and to give credence to the supernatural birth from baptism.

2*.5:2-4 a betrothed man. This reason is the only one mentioned

by DbṢ (240[194]).

2*.6:2-6 "annulled the enmity in his flesh": cf. for this explanation only, DbṢ (241[195]).

2*.8:16 "disquieted at his word": cf. for this obvious explanation DbṢ (242[195]).

2*.9:6-9 the coin, the royal image etc. = Greg. Naz. Or.38 (PG 36.328A).

2*.10:3ff. "he shall be great": cf. summarily DbṢ (244[197]).

2*.11:14-.16:12 "the throne of David his father" etc. Cf. the much shorter discussions of IM (ـ-ـ[151f.]) and DbṢ (244[197f.]) who both use Ps 89 in the same way. Cf. also Severus on Lk 1.32 (Gk. text ed. MAI, 411).

2*.11:17 the chair(?): evidently some form of θρον-, but not the usual ܟܘܪܣܝ or ܟܘܪ(ܣ)ܝ.

2*.12:24ff. the holy Philoxenus etc. Neither the length nor the source of this citation (or of 2*.16:18ff.) is clear. In substance there is no reason to doubt the ascription to Philoxenus; cf. for example the probable reference of the "power of the Most High" to the Logos as in de Trin. et Inc. (94f.[74]). Probably these two quotations are otherwise unknown parts of his commentary: like other known fragments they are Christological, and like the others on Lk come from chs. 1-3 (see DE HALLEUX, 131). The fact that ?MbK gives Philoxenus's name here implies precisely that these quotations do not come from one of his main sources, which he would normally copy out tacitly.

2*.12:30-.13:2 And just as he placed on Abraham etc.: repeated (without attribution) by DbṢ (244[197]) in a form which cites Ex 7.1 ("I have made you god to Pharaoh") in support of the statement about Moses.

2*.15:1 "Until he comes whose the kingdom is". For the messianic reading of Gn 49.10 see on 1.3:4 and esp. MURRAY, 46-7,283-4.

2*.15:3ff. a transmitter from one to another etc. Cf. JS (prose; ZINGERLE, 44f.) who makes Ps 45 into a speech from David to Christ:

> Nicht von einem anderen hast du ihn (sc. the throne) empfangen, und übergibst ihn auch keinem anderen. Du bist nicht wie ich, der den Thron von Saul genommen habe und ihn dem Salomon übergebe...

2*.16:18ff. the holy Philoxenus: see above on .12:24ff.

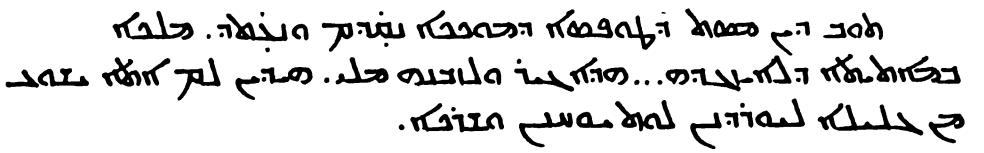
2*.17:20-4 "holy"...i.e. unchangeable: a curious exegesis found also in IM (ـ-ـ[152]) and DbṢ (including the citation of Hos; 249 [201]) both of whom claim further that ܩܕܝܫ is Hebrew for Syriac ܩܠܝܫܐ !

No. 3

3.1:7 to learn the truth from the (actual) situation. MbK follows the universal explanation of the reason for the visit. Cf. Ephrem, CDiatess i.27 (Arm., 14), JS (Sah.645:11ff.), Ps-Ephrem (i.97-100, 131-6), IM (ـ-ـ[153]), GanB (ʾa, Mar Abba).

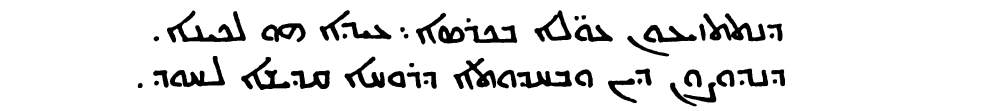
3.1:9-14 the journey was also a symbolic one etc. The above passage in the GanB continues:

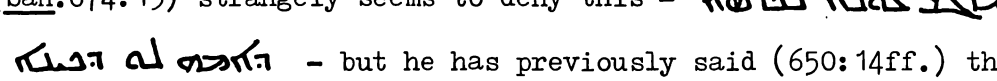
Again, it was in order that the king, in his coming to his (own) emissary, should prepare beforehand a type of humility... This he also fulfilled in his time: "then", it says, "came Jesus from Galilee to the Jordan to John", etc.



3.1.19 Elizabeth offers Mary (her own) conception as a gift. Possibly Mary's conception is the gift (so called in nearly this context by Ephrem, CDiatess i.27). The point is not quite clear.

3.1:24 That babes should move in wombs is natural etc. Cf. nearly the same words in the GanB (מגa-b) and IM (בד[153], almost metrical):



JS (Sah.674:13) strangely seems to deny this -  - but he has previously said (650:14ff.) that the Holy Spirit was operative in interpreting the baby's movements as rejoicing.

3.2:1 the ambassador in the presence of the king. IM alludes in this context to John as the ambassador of Christ the King (בד[153]), but his point is not itself clear enough to elucidate MbK's next, somewhat obscure, remark. JS (Sah.680ff.) is preoccupied with John as voice (‖ Christ as Word), and does not use "ambassador" of him.

3.2:4ff. he makes (his) mother to share in the gift etc. Cf. the similar reasoning and expression in the GanB, מגb:

Also he makes his mother share in the gift... It was excellent that Elizabeth begins with a loud voice and a cry:

she is the mother of the Voice...who was now unable to (do) his promised sort of service. His mother is deployed in his stead.

ܐܡܐ ܕܩܠܐ ... ܕܠܐ ܡܨܠ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ... ܐܡܗ ܡܫܬܕܪ ܒܗ ܬܚܬ ܐܡܗ.

Cf. JS Sah.647:9ff.: Elizabeth's speech was instigated by John who could not talk himself.

3.2:9–18 the power of the working of the spirit. Cf. JS Sah. 646 and 677 who similarly insists that Elizabeth's meaningful greeting must have come from revealed knowledge.

3.2:19–27 "Whence should this be" etc. Cf. the GanB (ܓ̈b, anon.): Elizabeth's question is in order because "as a rule (ܒܣܝܪܐ) servants are sent to lords, not lords to servants". Cf. JS Sah.676:1.

No. 4

4.1:3–6 penqitha. Evidently the sense "volume, book" had so far dominated the definition of ܦܢܩܝܬܐ by MbK's time that the sense here of "writing tablet" had to be explained. The words used to define penqitha, ܟܬܒ and ܦܓ̈, cannot be entirely distinguished, except that ܟܬܒ are sometimes of stone (as for the Ten Commandments) while ܦܓ̈ seem to be almost always of wood. "Little black tablets" will be waxed, i.e. with the usual black wax. This, however, makes the word ܒܝܬ̈ difficult. MSS vocalize ܒ̈ which precludes both (1) ܒ̈ܝܬ̈ or ܒ̈ܝܬ̈ "with pens", and (2) ܒ̈ܝܬ̈ "the lowly" (VASCHALDE: "plebeii", DbṢ ad loc., 260[210]). The first alternative also has against it that it does not quite fit the sense "stylus" which would be required for

waxed tablets (NURSE: "pencils" does not solve the problem). On the other hand, were waxed tablets ever used only by the poor?

The GanB (ܠ b) seems to have a different kind of tablet in mind:

> A penqitha is a kind of tablet to which people, even Indian sages, are accustomed - a kind of memorandum and jotting book. And according to others, it is a kind of tablet of wood, on which school teachings are written. According to the orthodox exegetes, they are a kind of little tablets strung together on which (things) are written with a kind of pencil. And the words and records of calculations (written) without ink are easily erased without water.

ܘܫܡܗ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ ܡܫܡܥ ܠܢ ܕܫܡ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ ܗܘ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ ܗܘ ܕܫܡ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ ܗܘ ܕܫܡ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ ܗܘ ܕܫܡ

(office) is for the present dispensation, it is very proper that it should start by partaking of communal mercy and the compassion that (comes) from mercy.

ܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܟܗܢܘܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ. ܫܦܝܪ ܗܘ ܕܢܫܪܝ ܒܪܚܡܐ ܕܟܢܘܫܬܐ ܘܒܪܚܡܐ ܕܡܢ ܪܚܡܐ ܕܐܬܐ. ܟܕ ܡܫܬܘܬܦ ܒܪܚܡܐ ܕܟܢܘܫܬܐ ܘܒܪܚܡܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܡܢ ܪܚܡܐ.

4.6:18–.7:20 why John's departure to the wilderness took place etc. MbK agrees with the Protogospel of James 23 (though not in detail) in connecting the departure to the murder of Zechariah. This in turn rests on the identification of John's father with the Zechariah of Mt 23.35. For this and other possibilitès, see BERENDTS, 24-54; to his collection of texts should be added Severus, Ep. 69 (PO 14.80–86), and IM (ܠܐf.[22]), who transmit MbK's opinion. In particular, cf. MbK with the account given by JacE in answer to the question of John the Stylite concerning Mt 23.25 (WRIGHT, "Two letters", ٥٠-٠). MbK's account is identical in substance with Jacob's, though enough of his words are different to make it improbable that he is quoting Jacob – the more so since he does not give the story in his name. Rather, the account must have had an independent existence in writing, or JacE would never have passed it on, as he did, without any qualifications. MbK and JacE might well have made independent use of it.

It might be that the original language of this account was not Syriac: in JacE's version, Herod tells the Magi ...ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܗܪܘܕܣ, which is against all the Syriac versions of Mt 2.8 and MbK's version, which have ...ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. In this case, some of the verbal differences between MbK and JacE may have arisen as translation variants. The

only other writer to whom this account seems to be known is TbK, but he does no more than allude to it (ii.72).

4.7:21-.8:10 so that there might be no sort of suspicion. Cf. IM (ܐ [231])‖TbK ii.74:12-15. JS (Sah.673:2f.) also defends Jn 1.33 by noting that John in the womb did not actually see Jesus on Mary's visit to Elizabeth!

4.7:13 the wilderness of the Ziphites. In the hill country of Judah, according to Jo 15.55, and David's hiding place from Saul in 1 Sam 23.

No. 5

5.1:3 The word from the bēma. The bēma was a platform in the middle of the nave in some E. and W. Syrian churches, from which the readings and homily were delivered and where (at least in the E. Syrian churches) all the clergy were seated throughout the Mass of the Catecheumens. Mosul, MbK's see, is one of the areas in which W. Syrian churches with bēmas are found: see FIEY, Mossoul chrétienne, 98f. The clearest W. Syrian evidence that the homily was given from the bēma comes from John of Ephesus (PO 17.102f.) On the bēma in general, see most comprehensively TAFT.

5.1:6f. great vigilance etc. Cf. Chrys., Hom. vi on Mt (PG 57.61bot.) where the Syriac translation (MS Add. 12142, fol. 122a3) reads ܗܘ ܕܪܥܝܐ ܕܠܘܩܐ ܠ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܪ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܪ. Cf. Severus, Hom. 36: if the shepherds of Lk 2 had not been watchful, etc.

5.1:19–.3:2 Hands of flesh touched him etc. etc. Such lists of paradoxes as MbK's here form the stuff of many sermons on the Nativity. Failing to find MbK's exact words in any other sources, I list a few of the closer Syriac parallels: Ephrem, HNat iii.5, JS Sah.723,802f. (touching); JS prose (ZINGERLE, 8), v.454:4ff. (holding and being held); Ephrem, HNat xxi.14 (other reversals of fortune on earth). See also below esp. on 5.5:6ff.

5.5:4 by the holy Mar John. The paragraph 5.4:30–.5:5 seems to be an intrusion, but exactly what is being attributed to ?Chrysostom is not clear.

5.5:6ff. even though he descended...he was...unconfined. Cf. most closely Severus, Hom. 83 (PO 20.400–2) with the same exegesis of the Gloria in Excelsis. Cf. for this favourite paradox also: Ephrem, HNat iv.159,169, xxi.6, xxiii.11; JS v.477:15,664:4–5, Sah.760,803.

5.5:19–22 Him whom the angels did not see. The angels' inability to see God or the Logos in heaven is explained by Philoxenus, de Trin. et Inc. (20f.[21f.]). With the statement here, cf. Philoxenus on the Annunciation (KRÜGER, 158[163]): ܐܝܟ ܕܐ ܐܬܪ (sic) ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܐܦ ܡܠܐܟ ܩܕܝܫ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܐܦ ܐܢܫ. BEDJAN (Sah.XIX) blames JS for this "incorrect" view where it appears on p. 710. Cf. also for the same idea as here, JS v.460:16f. and Ephrem, HNat xiv.2.

5.6:5–.7:18 She received the Word and gave birth to flesh etc. For a series of similar design but almost entirely different predicates, cf. Ephrem, HNat xi.6–8. For Christ's unchangedness, cf. e.g. Philoxenus

(de Trin. et Inc., 37f.[33f.]): ܡܫܟܚܬ ܕܡܠܟܝ ܒܪ ܨܕܩ .

5.7:13f. without a mother...without a father. Cf. Greg. Naz., Or. 38 (PG 36.313A): "Melchizedek is concluded: the one without mother becomes without father".

5.7:23 Bethlehem, which means "House of Bread". See on 5.10:25ff. and cf. Severus, Hom. 36 (PO 36.466:1-6) and JS Sah.796:

ܕܐܡ ܡܠܟܝ ܒܪ ܨܕܩ ܕܒܝܬ ܠܚܡܐ ܩܪܝ ܒܝܬ ܠܚܡ ܕܒܝܬ ܠܚܡܐ ܕ

5.10:25-.11:12 so that we may see Christ. . .house of spiritual bread = Chrys., Hom. vii on Mt (PG 57.78:28-50, omitting :32-35, 47-8) with minor changes.

5.11:18 the stone cut without hands etc.: a frequent testimonium. For early Fathers (including Aphrahat, Dem. i.8 and Ephrem CDiatess on Mt 16.20) see MURRAY, 207 and 353. Cf. further Greg. Nys., Test. adv. Jud., 3 (PG 46.210); Severus, Hom. 67 (PO 8.354:3-5); Philoxenus (KRÜGER, 156f. [161] and surely in answer to his n.1 on p. 161); JS (in MS Mingana Syr. 105, fol. 25a1 (what memra?)):

ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܠܐ ܒܐܝܕܝ ܐܬܓܙܪ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܡܢ ܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܗ ܕܐܬܓܙܪ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܠܐ ܒܐܝܕܝ ܐܝ ܡܐ

"city"; cf. Fenqitho ii.130a:*

ܟܬܒ ܠܡܪܝ ܒܪܝܫ ܕ ܡܫܬܝܬ ܕ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ
ܕܣܝܢܝ ܕܚܫ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܕܣܝܢܝ ܕܚܫ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܕܣܝܢܝ ܕܚܫ .

Christ's quiet and gentle descent is opposed to the thunder of Mt. Sinai by Severus, Hymn 120 (PO 6.160).

5.12:10 fruit not of its nature. For the tree and ram, see above on 2.3:25-.5:10. Cf. for this phrase Sermo ii.141-2 of Ps-Ephrem (ed. BECK, 41[53]) (of Mary): ܟܝܢ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ .

5.12:7 the dry ground (of) Mary. Cf. for the phrase Ephrem, HNat xi.4, xviii.13.

5.12:21 - 13:1 "All you peoples...". . .that of the Father = Greg. Naz., Or. 38 (PG 36.313B).

5.13:1-7 = 5.10:16-22.

5.13:18f. the fire that was wrapped. . .embraced on the breast. Cf. nearly the same wording in JS's prose homily no. 1 (ZINGERLE, 8:12-14) except that JS has "sucks milk" instead of "was placed on the knees". For the image, cf. Ephrem, HNat v.24.

5.13:23-14:2 transgression is forgotten. . .(and removed) from mankind. This is a quotation of JS's prose homily no. 1 (ZINGERLE, 4:6-14) to which the third and fourth clauses are additions.

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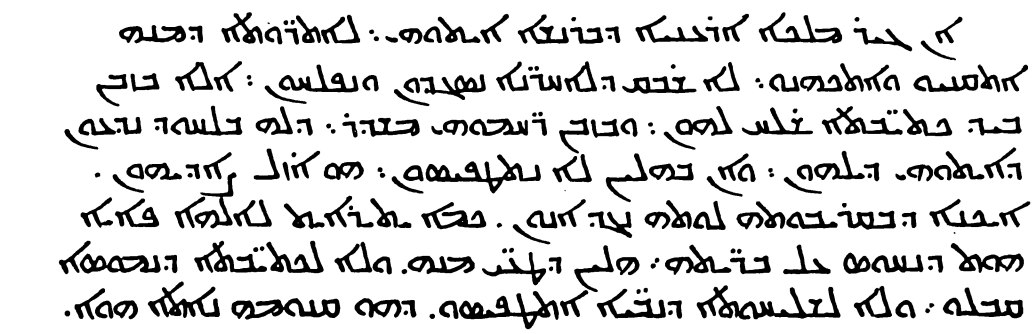
* I have this reference and text from Dr. Brock.

No. 6

Five chapters of this homily reappear in DbṢ in an unexpected place, the introduction to his commentary on Mt (CSCO 15[16]), and I therefore give references here. They may have come from MbK's own introduction, but this only exists in the MS for chs. 18ff. where they do not appear. If this material was in GB, it belonged to chs. 1-20 in memra I of his introduction which have also perished.

6.1:8-2:19 why God came...and did not send another. The same question is ch. 6 in MbK's Explanation of Christmas (Add. 17188, fols. 14a-15a), but there the whole answer corresponds to the first reason here. Cf. also Severus, Ep. 65 (PO 14.16:8-10).

6.1:19-34 (It is) just like something glass etc. This reading in HPC_2 is best explained, especially in view of the last sentence, as an addition made in MS α. It may nonetheless come from MbK; cf. his discussion in Explanations (fol. 15a):



6.2:20-.3:5 why God...was born of a woman. This question is discussed by Thomas of Edessa (CARR, 56-9) but differently from MbK. The same question in the name of Theodore of Mopsuestia is in MS

Brit.Mus.Or. 2310, fol. 74b, which I have not seen.

6.3:6–23 why the Son was born = DbṢ ch. 12 (8[8]). Cf. the discussion in MbK's Explanations (fols. 16b–17a), which differs somewhat: MbK there concentrates on the Father's property of being cause and not caused, and the Spirit's of being unconfined.

6.4:5–.6:4 "If God...united himself to flesh, he was defiled and sullied" = DbṢ ch. 15 (9[9]). Cf. again the Explanations for a twofold answer: 1. conception, birth, etc. are not shameful; 2. the sun does not pick up dirt from the earth, so how much less should the sun's creator do so. MbK's arguments here are close to those of Severus, Hom. 63 (PO 8.298:14–299:12):

> And do you think that the flesh (he takes) from us smears any kind of filth or stain on God the Word? – not understanding that there is (only) one thing that can make unclean or defile, that is, the corruption of sin. But where is there a trace of sin where there is God the Word who takes flesh unchangedly, and the virginity of the mother even after the birth, and the abiding of the Holy Spirit, and the far-awayness of the seed of man, and the complete want and absence and lack of passion?... For if our flesh were unclean, then neither ought he to have formed it at the beginning, he who makes all things excellent and good and greatly beautiful.

6.5:5 <she is said> The fem. is read by Isho‘ of Melitene on the Annunciation (P fol. 156a1) who borrows this sentence.

6.6:5–16 he was changed and altered and debased = DbṢ ch. 16 (10[10]).

6.6:17–.7:19 he was limited within the womb = DbṢ ch. 14 (9[9]).

6.7:10–20 he was born in passion and flux. Cf. distantly Severus, Hymn 3 (PO 6.47:6–7): the birth from the Virgin is passionless like

the first birth from the Father.

6.7:21-8:24 why they did not take place in former times = DbS ch. 21 (12[11]). Cf. the answer of Thomas of Edessa (CARR, 25-41) which includes MbK's third argument only. IM (ג [3]) gives MbK's simile of the doctor.

6.9:10-.10:4 Whether his birth and baptism are one festival or not. This seems an artificial question since in MbK's time the two festivals of Christmas (25 Dec) and Epiphany = baptism (6 Jan) were firmly established. It is prompted rather by his sources preserving the memory that the two festivals were once the same. It is also possible that the issue was kept alive in MbK's time by contact with the Armenian church, which observes only 6 Jan. A friendly Syrian-Armenian synod was held in 725/6; the full account in Michael (ii.493b-500) implies it was taken up with Christology, but Bar Hebraeus (quoted in B.O.ii.296f.) adds that there was a public dialogue between the two primates on many matters. An Armenian text (ed. CONYBEARE, "Dialogus") does in fact preserve a debate between these two figures on the subject of this chapter.

The "quotations" of Eusebius and Ephrem are not to my knowledge found elsewhere, and are certainly spurious. Eusebius (†c.340) could not have heard of the two festivals coexisting even if he had heard of the Roman 25 December festival; neither would he be likely to speak of "the Greeks". But cf. again Eusebius's witness to the Christmas festival according to MbK on Mt (intro., ch. 23, fol. 30b2):

> Eusebius of Caesarea, too, says that on this same day, on the evening (ܪܘܫܡܐ) of the twenty-fourth of Kanun I, he was born.

Ephrem likewise knew only the festival of 6 January: see BECK, CSCO 186, p. V, the evidence being especially HNat v. The last two lines of the quotation (6.10:1f.) do not quite maintain the 7:7 metre, and might be a comment in the source from which MbK is quoting. Even if this is so, the reference of the hymn must still be to 25 Dec. Cf. MbK's commentary on Mt (loc. cit., fol. 31a1):

> For Mar Ephrem the doctor says that on the eve of the twenty-sixth (sic) of Kanun Christ appeared and was born. For he says thus in his hymns: "On the tenth, his conception; on the sixth, his birth."

ܡܪ ܐܦܪܝܡ ܕܝܢ ܡܠܦܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܕܒܪܫ ܥܣܪ ܒܟܢܘܢ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܘܐܬܝܠܕ ܗ̇ܘ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܗ̇ܘ ܓܘ ܒܫܒܥ ܒܗ̇ܝ ܡܢ ܒܬܘܫܒ̈ܚܬܗ̇ ܐܡܪ ܗ̇ܟܢ ܒܫ̈ܒ̈ܚ̈ܬܗ̇ ܕ̈ܝ ܒܥܣܪ ܗ̇ܝ ܒܬܫܥ ܗ̇ܪܘܢ ܒܫܬܐ ܗ̇ܝ ܒܫܬܐ ܗ̇ܝ ܒܫܬܐ ܗ̇ܝ

introduction of the 25 December festival into the East in the v and vi centuries. This introduction must have been resisted (see on 6.10:8ff.) and perhaps needed the support of extra Fathers. If this should be the case, the hymn of "Ephrem" becomes the earliest known polemic against the opinion that the date 25 Dec was taken over from a pagan festival.

At the same time, MbK's question no doubt has in mind that at some time the two festivals did coincide. He discusses this fact in the commentary on Mt (loc. cit., fol. 31a1-2). This discussion is largely the same as that of GB in his own introduction. (This is on a misplaced folio (216a) of Vat.Syr. 154 and was not accessible to me except for the excerpt printed and discussed by BAUMSTARK, "Weihnachtsfest".) Both authors again depend on a common source including a letter of JacE to one Moses on the date of Christmas. Jacob says that "we" have celebrated the festival of 24 Kanun I only since the time of Mar John (Chrysostom). MbK also adds a quotation from "Mar Ephrem": ܗܘ ܕܝ ܒܝܘܡ ܕܝܠܕ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܘܡ ܕܡܘܬ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ. The first three words come from HNat v.13 and the rest from xxvii.4; the point of the whole is quite unclear.

6.10:8-28 The holy Mar Severus says etc. The passages (notes 1 and 2) wholly or partly in MSS C_2HP present two problems.

1. Does this long text belong to the original text of the homilies? This must be at least doubtful from the filiation of the MSS (stemma (iv b) of Table V): the long readings including the one on p. 6.1 are best explained as marginal additions in α. The sentence (lines 4-7) in between the two pluses, however, is hard to read

except as a further example of the legitimate takeover of pagan customs that Severus has been discussing. It may be therefore that the long text is older, perhaps a marginal comment in X including the middle lines which were more successful in establishing themselves as part of the text.

2. Is the quotation authentic? This need not be doubted, for the following reasons. (1) Severus's hypomnēstika are often quoted and cited in Syriac MSS (e.g. PO 12.161; BROOKS, Select Letters, 107; etc.). (2) The statement is supported by Cosmas, v.10 (SC 159.22-5), writing about thirty years after Severus's death, who says that the Jerusalemites alone reckon that Christ was also baptized on his birthday, and therefore "celebrate the nativity on Epiphany". CONYBEARE ("Christmas", 294) also alludes to the testimony of (unspecified) Armenian historians that riots in Jerusalem were provoked by Justinian in moving the date of Candlemas from 14 Feb (40 days after 6 Jan) to 2 Feb. Cf. also the Patriarch's statement in "Dialogus", 328, who also mentions the enforcement of changes in the thirty-third year of Justinian (i.e. 559). (3) Severus's statement is an unlikely forgery to have emerged from the debate with the Armenians, since it could be used by either side. On the question of when Jerusalem began to celebrate 25 December, see LAKE, 604: this statement of Severus is one more piece of evidence for a late date.

6.10:29f. in the month of flowers the twelve Magi came. This odd statement seems to derive from Epiphanius's chronology (see 7§xi and comm.) and not from any liturgical commemoration. Epiphanius

makes the Holy Family's visits to Bethlehem follow their annual Passover pilgrimage mentioned in Lk 1.41. Cf. Ps-Dion(73[57]) and IM ([15]) for the same statement as here.

6.11:10-15 On how many names this festival is called. The quotation of Gregory is again apposite; cf. the note above. In his commentary, however, MbK either obtusely or disingenuously makes Gregory's refer to 6 January, by adding this citation to those of JacE and Ephrem above! (Confusion is invited, to be sure, by the ambiguity of ( ) which translates both Gregory's Θεοφανια (= 25 Dec) and the usual Ἐπιφανια (= 6 Jan).)

6.12:1-8 the name "festival". MbK answers this question also in Explanations, fols. 7b-9b, at greater length. There he arrives at much the same definition but his emphasis then falls rather on invective against pagan and Jewish festivals.

6.13:6 H adds two further chapters:

1. "How was Christ's coming of benefit?" (fol. 38a)
2. "Concerning 'until she bore her firstborn son' (Mt 1.25)" (fols. 38a-39a).

The first has a short sentence each about various groups - to angels, to men, to animals, etc. (begins: .) The second explains rather confusedly that "until" need not imply any sexual relations afterwards, nor "firstborn" imply that other children followed. More lucid versions of the same arguments can be found in GB (ad loc., fols. 19a1-20a2), IM ([14f.] , [157]), and DbṢ, (ad loc., 82-6[62-5]). The discussion derives from Chrys.,

Hom. v on Mt (PG 57.58) agreeing with Ephrem, CDiatess ii.11. Cf. also Basil, Hom. in sanctam Christi Generationem 5 (PG 31.1467B) and Isidore of Pelusium, Ep. 18 (PG 78.191-4).

No. 7

For discussion of the source of much of this homily and nos. 8 and 9 (ultimately Chrysostom and a source in common with GB), see ch. 3 of the Introduction and esp. Table I. For the material in common with GB, these notes give only ultimate sources and earlier parallels.

7.1:2-8 of what race they were. Gregory of Nyssa: Oratio in diem natalem Christi (PG 46.1133D). Eusebius: Quaestiones (Syriac only, in Severus Catena, ed. MAI, 281f.). JacE: letter ed. NESTLE, Grammatica, ﻉf.:

> As for those Magi about whom you, brother, have asked, those who came from the East to Jerusalem when Christ was born, they were from the land of Persia, and the descent of their race was from Elam the son of Shem. And they were not only three, as artists depict them in paint in public because they have heard of the threefoldness of the gifts, gold, myrrh, and frankincense, but twelve, as the written apocryphal accounts (ﻫﺬﻩ ﻫﺬﻩ ﻫﻤﻠﻨﻪ) commit (to us). Those who came were rulers, and famous and renowned men of the land of Persia. There was with them a great (body of) people, a large army (of) more than a thousand men, so that even "all Jerusalem" was disturbed when they arrived there and appeared there.

7.1:11 how many they were in number. The opinion that there were twelve Magi is peculiar to Syriac and Armenian sources; cf. the notes above and below. The Cave of Treasures (236[208f.]), exceptionally, names only three; GanB (ﻝﻁb) also gives three (with different names)

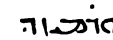
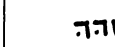
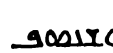
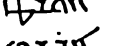
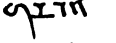
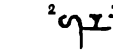
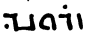
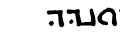
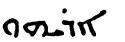
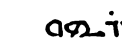
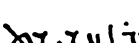
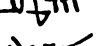
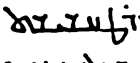
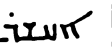
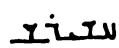
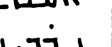
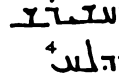
but admits that other traditions say twelve. I have not found any sources earlier than GB using Mic 5.5 to support the number eight. This view does not appear (except in a form deriving from MbK) in the survey of MONNERET DE VILLARD.

7.1:25 the names of the Magi. This list is commonly met with in both E. and W. Syriac sources, and has received some study. V. GUTSCHMIDT's conjecture (p. 344) that the list was composed in Syriac in the ii cent. and gives the names of actual Parthian vassal kings at the time of Christ's birth, has not been disproved, although no source for it earlier than the viii cent. has turned up. BUDGE (Cave of Treasures, 38) states that some of the names are anachronistic, but JUSTI managed to restore a list of Iranian and Semitic names that would fit in with v. GUTSCHMIDT's hypothesis.

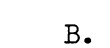
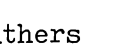
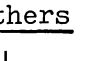
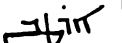
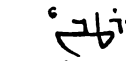
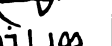
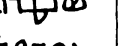
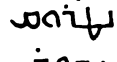
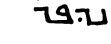
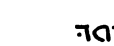
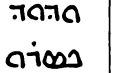
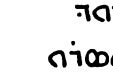
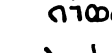
MbK's version of the list of 24 names is one of the three oldest, the other two being the chronicle of Ps-Dionysius (viii cent.; pp. 57f.) and TbK (a MS "B" belonging to Baumstark, printed by KEHRER, i.73 and superior to SCHER's text (ii.72) except where the notes indicate). These are set out next to MbK in Table VI, with JUSTI's reconstruction (pp. 688f., made from the list in the Book of the Bee) in the last column.

Later sources for this list are quite numerous. E. Syrian ones include Bar Bahlul (NESTLE, "Zahl und Namen der Weisen", 68), The Book of the Bee ([84f.]), the Warda (Camb. MS Add. 1982 fol. 7b), and the Gazza (with the same hymn of Warda, ed. RÜCKER, 23); the list has even found its way into a popular book, EMHARDT-LAMSA, 24f., as

A. Kings

	Ps-Dion	TbK	MbK	JUSTI
1.			 [1]	Zarwandad
2.				Hormizd
3.				Gušnasp
4.		 [2]		Aršak
5.				Zarwāndād
6.				AXriho or Ariho
7.				ArtaXšašt
8.		 [3]		Aštanbōzan
9.				Mihrūk
10.				AXšayarš (Xerxes)
11.		 [4]		SardalaX
12.		 [5]		MerodaX

B. Fathers

1.		[6]		Artaban
2.				Sanatruk
3.				Gundaphar
4.				Mihruk
5.				Warzwād
6.				Xusrō
7.				Xūlīt
8.				Šišrawan or Xasrawan
9.				Huwahm
10.		 [7]		Saxban
11.				Baladān
12.				Bel

1 L. 2 B. 3 B. 4 B.
5 B. 6 B. 7 B, SCHER; text SCHER's apparatus.

Table VI: the names of the Magi

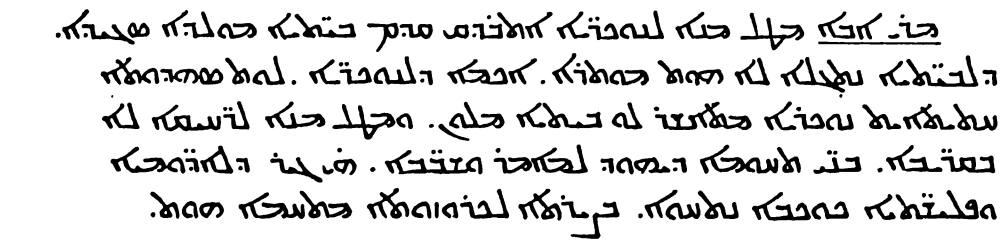
a piece of "Assyrian tradition". W. Syrian sources include DbṢ (ad loc., pp. 90f.), Michael (89f. [i.141f.]), and a treatise called ܡܫܚܢܐ ܕܟܫܘܢܝ in MS Vat.Syr. 492 (AD 1430; VAN LANTSCHOOT, 23f.) fol. 161a-b, and a Karshuni text in MS Vat.Syr. 97 (Catalogus, ii.525, no. 13). Some idea of the corrupt state of the list of names in the later sources can be had by comparing NESTLE's own (not completely accurate) table (loc. cit.) with the three sources in Table VI.

Both the first two lists in the table are corrupt in some measure (Ps-Dion at A 3; B 5,7,9 and TbK at A 8, at least) and MbK's list (at A 1,9; B 2,10) is a further step in that direction. His source cannot have been either of the others, but seems to have been closer to the Jacobite Ps-Dion than to TbK. The list in Ps-Dion is not in its original context (cf. for the narrative but no trace of the names, the Test. Adam (PS 2.1339-54) and the Cave of Treasures) and was no doubt taken over from an earlier independent list of names.

7.2:18 a sect composed of paganism and of Chaldeanism. MbK's statement identifies Magi and Chaldeans more closely than GB's (23b2). Cf. Severus, Hom. 36 (PO 36.466:15-16) "For this [sc. the study of courses of the stars] is the property of the Chaldeans, from whom are the Magi"; Cave of Treasures (234 [204]). For the justifiable confusion in the ancient world generally, see BIDEZ-CUMONT, i.33-36.

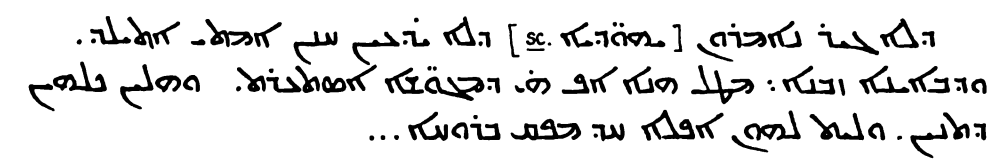
7.2:23 For the testimony of strangers about a man is (to be) believed etc. For this and the next explanation, cf. "Mar Abba" in Isaac Eshbadnaya (MS Camb. Add. 1998, fols. 72b-73a):

Mar Abba. Why was the adorable Nativity made known to foreigners before associates? Because it was not so expedient that it should be revealed to associates as to foreigners. For testimony, a foreigner is accurately relied on, but not an associate. And why to those far away, not among those nearby - this is to say, people of the boundary of Judaea - and neighbours? For that the star should be shown to the Edomites and Philistines would have limited the preaching as something mean.



The same opinion appears in Mar Abba's name somewhat more obscurely in the GanB, ⁊ⁿ⁄ₐa. Among earlier sources cf. Theo. Mop. (frag. 7; REUSS, 98): "The Magi preached Christ as unsuspect ones and non-compatriots like the Jews".

7.2:28f. "are we to follow him?" The sense (or text) is doubtful. Cf. Chrys., Hom. vii (Add. 17142 fol. 129a3-b1 = PG 57.74:12-17):



It seems therefore that the words may be an intrusion in our text; could they be a comment by an early reader, "we agree with him"?

7.3:16ff. the Magi rather than others. The same argument, that the Magi with their outrageous practices were the most in need of healing from sin, is found in GanB ⁊ⁿ⁄ₐa-b. It follows the text by Mar Abba quoted in the note on 7.2:23, but is not necessarily therefore ascribed to him.

7.5:14-.7:13 how old the Magi found Christ. For Chrysostom, see on 9.2:13-18. For Cyril, see the extract from bk. xi against Julian edited by Nestle in NEUMANN, 52f. (Lt. tnsl., 64f.):

> For (the star) appeared in the heaven for two years... After (Herod) learned that its appearance was two years before, he had all the children of Bethlehem killed, from two years old and under. For he supposed, holding him (sc., Christ) with those (others), that he perished wretchedly, even though the Magi found the child in swaddling-cloths just at that time born. And he is not (yet) eight days old, and has not yet gone up to Jerusalem, and they (have not yet) offered offerings according to the commandment of the Law. So then this miracle is studied and is worthy to be believed.

For Epiphanius, see Panarion haer. 20 (GCS 25.228:6-19 = Syr. in MS Add. 14604 fol. 68b1) which is closely followed by MbK in 7.5:24-.6:9. The Magi are not mentioned in the canon of either version of Eusebius's chronicle, although both versions put the slaughter of the innocents two or three years after the birth of Christ (Lt.: GCS 47.169; Arm.: GCS 20.212). Cf. more probably Quaestiones no. 16 (PG 22.933-6) which concerns the apparent discrepancy between Mt and Lk respecting this course of events and concludes that two years elapsed between the birth and arrival of the Magi. The question does not, however, seem to be attested in Syriac. The quotation of Ephrem = HNat xxvi.2. Cf. the statement in Ephrem's name in GanB: "Herod enquired of the Magi about the time of the star. And he learned that it was about two years ago that it appeared to them". (This of course fits Chrysostom's view as well; GanB on Mt 2.11 (ܢ) assumes the Magi came at the birth: "'They entered the house': he calls the cave 'the house'".) The quotation of Severus = Hymn 115 (PO 6.155:2f.); cf. for the phrase Greg. Naz., Or. 38 (PG 36.532B). Among other Syriac sources, the Cave

of Treasures holds that the Magi found Christ as a baby (240[211]). A book of miscellaneous questions and answers in MS Add. 14537 (vii or viii cent.) includes the question (fol. 11a) "Whence shall I know that two years before Christ's nativity the star appeared to the Magi, as you say?" The answer is (insufficiently) based on the fact that Herod's victims were two years old. The Epiphanian view is the more prevalent. Although not cited by MbK, JS shares this opinion, explaining at one point (i.142:6) that the Magi took two years to reach Jerusalem after seeing the star, and at another (i.148:12) calling the victims ܬܬܢ ܫܢܝ̈ܐ ܕܝܠܕܘܬܗ . In fact a comment in the margin of GB ad loc. (22a) adds JS to the list of authorities for this view. Interestingly the same authorities (Eusebius, Ephrem, Epiphanius) are cited in the same way in MSS Add. 17194 (AD 886) fols. 51b-52a and Add. 17191 (ix or x cent.) fols. 36b-37a, two catenas contemporary with MbK. For a further inference from Epiphanius's theory, see on 6.10:29f.

No. 8

8.1:4f. by means of the thing to which they were accustomed. Cf. Severus, Ep. 100 (PO 14.232f.), independently deriving from Chrys., Hom. vi. Cf. the same point made by MbK in Explanations, fol. 17a. Ephrem, HNat xxii.16, says that Christ took a body because we were used to worshipping bodies!

8.2:6-12 two heralds etc. For the likeness of John and the star, cf. Ephrem, HNat vi.9-11, xxiv.23; JS Sah.645:18f., and 688:9f. which says:

ܗܘ ܕܟܘܟܒܐ ܐܘ ܡܕܡ ܐܚܪܢܝ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܟܘܟܒܐ ܐܘ ܡܠܐܟ ܡܢ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܗܝܟܠ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܐܘ ܒܒܝܬ ܠܚܡ ܕܐܦܪܬ ܐܘ ܒܒܝܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܗ ܐܘ ܒܒܝܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܗ ܐܘ ܒܒܝܬ ܠܚܡ ܕܐܦܪܬ ܐܘ ܒܗܝܟܠ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܐܘ ܡܠܐܟ ܡܢ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܟܘܟܒܐ ܐܘ ܡܕܡ ܐܚܪܢܝ ܗܘ

For the shepherds seeing Christ the lamb, cf. Ephrem, HNat iv.123-4.

8.2:16ff. whether it was a star or something else. The whole discussion comes from Chrysostom, Hom. vi except the last two sentences. Theodotus of Ancyra (Hom. i in die nat. Dom., PG 77.1363-7, Syr. in MS Add. 14601 fol. 67a2) has a discussion very similar to Chrysostom's but adds that the star was an 'exalted power' or an 'angelic power'. The Severus Catena comments that "Mar Severus and other holy teachers say it was an angel that took the form of a star" (Add. 17144, fol. 179a2). The GanB gives some of the same set of arguments as GB and MbK, some (ܟ̈ܘ b) in the name of Ḥenanisho' ('ix cent.?) and some (ܟ̈ܠ b) anonymously. MbK also takes up this subject in Explanations, fols. 16b-17b: there he follows Chrys. and GB more closely, repeating GB's reasons nos. 2, 3, 4, and 6 in order. In common with line 19 here he concludes the star was a "hidden power".

8.3:8-10 from east to south etc. GB, MbK (Explan., 17a), Ḥenanisho', all following Chrys.: "north to south"; Ephrem (CDiatess ii.18): "from the East to the West". MbK's statement might be a conflation or merely an attempt to be precise. Cf. IM (ܒ [16]): "from south-east to north and from this to west"!

8.3:21-.5:13 what the Magi saw in the star. The opinions listed by MbK can be found in other literature:

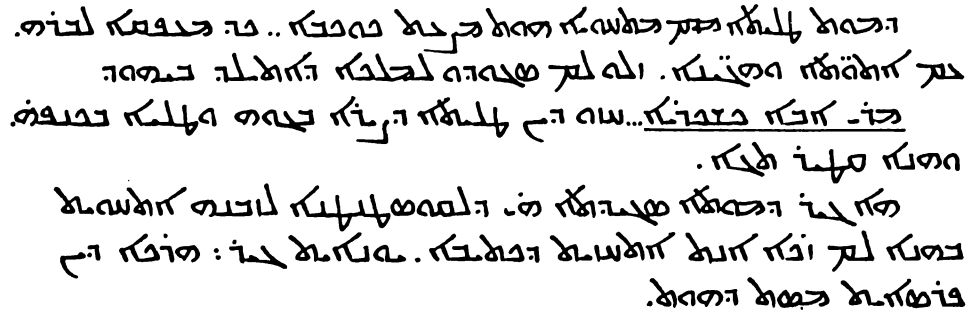
1. The first two - the picture and the writing in the star - are

found combined in some Nestorian sources, e.g. a hymn (ed. RÜCKER, p. 44) from the Gazza:

> And there was in it the form of a woman, suckling a baby in her bosom. And characters (were) in it: "This is the King, the King of Kings."

Cf. Isaac Eshbadnaya (fols. 68b-69a, 66b-67a, 68b):

> A sort of form of a girl was shown in the middle of the star, embracing her son; with letters and syllables. "Go", it said, "worship the king who has been born in Judaea."
>
> Mar Abba of Kashkar... They saw a girl depicted in its midst, and a child in her arms - he, wearing a crown.
>
> For lo, the adorable form which was shown to Constantine in his time: "With this", it said, "you are to conquer" appeared as writing. It was, indeed, Greek, but here it needed to be Persian.



The earliest source seems to be the Cave of Treasures (232 [203f.]):

> They saw a star in the firmament of heaven, which shone with the light of its appearance more than all the (other) stars. And within it (was) a maiden carrying a child, and a crown was set upon his head.

This text is reproduced in the GanB, ⁊⁊⁊a.

2. The handing on of the prophecy of Balaam is an idea going back to Origen, Contra Celsum i.61. For Syriac sources, cf. Eusebius Quaestiones (Severus Catena, ed. MAI, 281):

> And these (words of Balaam) were kept in books among Balaam's descendants. And hence it should accordingly be

> understood that the Magi of the days of Our Saviour, as Balaam had prophesied beforehand, seeing the star were impelled to see the (new)born king.

For this legend at its most elaborate, see Ps-Eusebius, On the Star (ed. WRIGHT).

3. For the derivation of the prophecy from Daniel, cf. GB (21a2) and IM (لد [19]) where it is combined with "The Kings of Sheba..." For the form closest to MbK's, cf. Isaac Eshbadnaya (fols. 67b-68a):

> After Gabriel ordered and defined the weeks for Daniel, Daniel wrote and imparted privately to the king, who was his friend, not only (that) at the end of the weeks the king, Christ, would be born in Judaea, (but) he also committed (to him) that a star (would be) the sign of his nativity, and he directed him that they should offer him up certain offerings. The king, because he tested Daniel's truth, wrote this revelation in gold. And he gave authority over it to the one who was going to retain his throne after him: "Warn the rest (of the dynasty) to count the weeks one after another and set down notes, and - when the weeks have ended and the star shall shine forth - take the offerings and bring (them) up to the king, Christ, to Judaea." This (is) what fully took place.

ڕ ڪڡ ڕڡڪڪ ڏڡڪ ڕڡڪڪ ڪڡڪ ڕڡڪڪ ڪڡڪ ڕڡڪڪ ڪ

"For we have seen his star." For it is not a simple "star" you say we have seen, but (one) already compounded with a person: "his star", a star, so to speak, which already indicates the person whose star it is.

ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܕܚܙܝܢ ܟܘܟܒܗ. ܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܟܘܟܒܐ ܦܫܝܛܐ ܐܡܪ ܕܚܙܝܢ
ܐܠܐ ܕܐܬܪܟܒ ܟܘܟܒܐ ܥܡ ܦܓܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܟܘܟܒܗ ܕܠܐ ܟܘܟܒܐ ܣܬܡ
ܕܡܪܡܙ ܠܢ ܥܠ ܕܝܢ ܕܗܘ ܕܝܠܗ ܟܘܟܒܐ.

8.6:14f. stars ...which are called comets etc. The source of MbK and GB is Cyril's treatise, fortunately preserved elsewhere in Syriac and printed by Nestle in NEUMANN, 52. MbK's and GB's texts are emended to agree with it. Other discussions of these stars can be found in: (1) Severus, Hom. 115 (PO 26.316) where the names are translated by JacE as ܟܘܡܛܐ, ܟܘܡܝܛܐ, ܟܘܡܛܐ (= κομηται, πωγωνιαι,δοκιδες) and then explained: ܟܘܡܛܐ ܕܡܬܬܚܙܝ ܒܟܠ ܥܒܕ ܕܟܘܟܒܐ ܕܡܬܬܚܙܝ ܒܗ; and (2) The Book of Medicines (ed. BUDGE, i.550[ii. 652f.]), where they are illustrated:

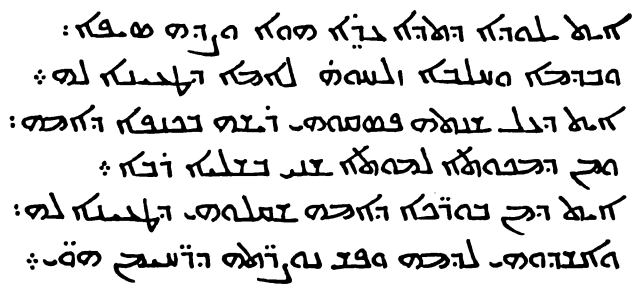
No. 9

9.2:1f. those who have said the Magi found Christ in swaddling-cloths etc. For the sources of this section, cf. on 7.5:14 above.

9.2:13-19 The holy Mar John says etc. = Chrys., Hom. vii on Mt (PG 57.76:21-7). Cf. the same passage in The Book of the Bee (ܟ[83]). The quotation of Chrysostom is, exceptionally, by name, and the fact that it doubles the material already in 7§xi shows that it comes to MbK independently of the rest of his Chrysostom material. ~~[Cf. the same~~

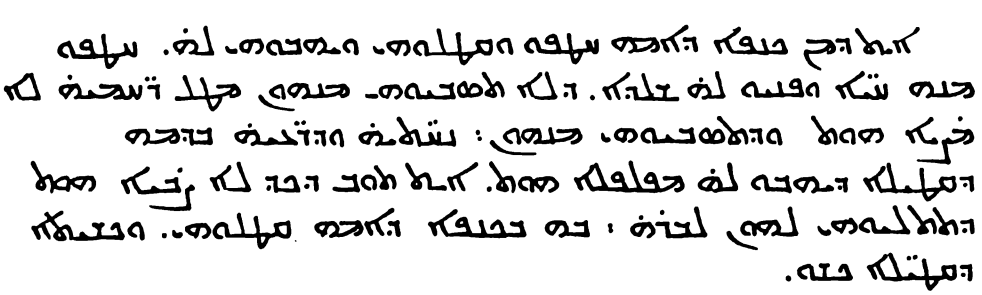
~~passage in The Book of the Bee~~/ The emendations are based on the Syriac text of Chrysostom in MS Add. 12142, and seem necessary to make sense of the text.

9.2:20–.3:6 in what way the babes were killed. JS gives a similar imaginative description (i.146):



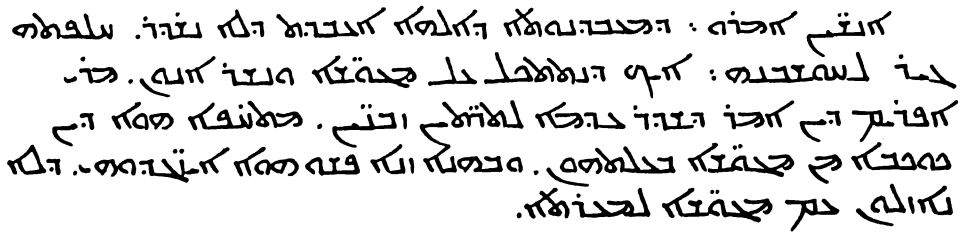
Verbally closer to MbK is the more gruesome account in the GanB, 88a (anon.):

> There was one they snatched from its mother's arms and killed, and gave it (back) to her. They snatched the life from it and returned it a corpse. Not to take it from them she was unable, because of her love, and to take it from them (meant) soaking her garments and arms in the blood of the murdered (child) they gave her. Again, there was one who would not give them her son, (and) they killed him right in ~~her~~/his mother's arms. And they heaped up a heap of victims.



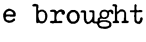
9.5:19f. his mind was blinded by envy. The phrase comes not from Chrysostom but Ephrem, CDiatess iii.1. Isho' bar Nun (MS Camb. Add. 2017, fols. 70b–71a) asks why Herod did not send spies after the Magi to see where Christ was born. The answer is:

Some have said, the working of God made him not send, for it altered his calculation so that he would trust the Magi and rely upon them. But Mar Ephrem has said, he sent (spies) (?) twice, but the star was concealed from the Magi by reason of them. And in this way his emissaries remained (unable) to go with the Magi to the cave.



The reference to Ephrem is apparently HNat xxiv.7.

9.6:7f. All the Jews would hear etc. This seems to be a couplet in 7:7 metre but I do not know its source.

9.6:16 They do not enter it as soon as they are killed. Cf. JS (i.148f.), who has the children go immediately to Sheol (or, the or ) where they tell Satan that Christ is coming. They are to be brought out, however, at the time of Christ's resurrection.

9.8:4-9 Herod was rewarded here thrice etc. MbK's and GB's source is Ephrem, CDiatess iii.1 (Arm., 27): "He was punished in his three sons and his wife, and he himself died a terrible death". MbK has misread the "three" as referring to the punishments. For Eusebius, see H.E.i.8.2-15.

No. 13

13.1:24-.2:4 a mark by which they should be distinguished. Cf. GanB (=a, on Gn 17.1ff.):

God wishes through circumcision to mark them for relationship with himself, as by a kind of sign, and to make a distinction between the uncircumcised and the circumcised.

ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܪܝ ܒܗ ܒܬܠܡܐ ܕܐܬ̈ܘܬܐ ܠܗ ܥܡ ܢܦܫܗ ܘܠܡܦܠܓ ܒܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܓܙܪ ܘܒܝܢ ܕܡܬܓܙܪ.

For baptism as such a mark, cf. AcThos 26 (ܡܪ[16f.]). For Ephrem, the quotation is a paraphrase of HEpiph iii.4.1-2:

ܒܡܐ ܕܐܬ̈ܘܬܐ ܕܒܣܪܐ ܕܐܢܫ̈ܐ ܡܫܬ̈ܪܝ ܗ̈ܘ ܒܗ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܢܫ̈ܐ ܠܐ ܒܣܪ̈ܗܘܢ ܐܠܐ ܒܢ̈ܦܫ̈ܗܘܢ.

13.2:9-12 two circumcisions etc.: a commonplace argument. Cf. e.g. Severus, Ep. 65 (PO 14.44-54, here 49:4f.):

> [Circumcision] cuts away the foreskin of the flesh, while baptism cuts away the foreskin of the soul, and, so to speak, destroys its excessive wickedness.

13.3:2-26 why...at eight days old. Closest to MbK is the discussion of Ṣeharbokt in the GanB (ܟ֗b - ܓ֗a) which, though rather obscure, mentions both the Sabbath and the newness of the eighth day after the seven days of creation. Cf. a briefer discussion on ܕ֗b (anon.). MbK elsewhere (Explan., 54a) states that the Resurrection took place on Sunday to give the new world the same beginning as the old. Cf. the detailed typology of Severus in Ep. 65 (PO 14.53:5-13):

> The fact again that he who was born was circumcised on the eighth day shows clearly that circumcision is a type of the life of impassibility in which we truly live, ...for the eighth day itself is the beginning also on which Our Lord rose... He who is circumcised on the eighth day, which is the beginning of the future world, is raised above this world, for the rest of which the seventh day was appointed, the end of which brings us to that day which is the beginning and the eighth...

The basic idea goes back beyond Cyril's Hom. 3 on Lk (Payne SMITH, tnsl. p. 20 and n.x).

13.3:19-21 Gregory the Theologian. The GanB (ܓܦb) repeats the attribution to the "Theologian", but the reference seems to be in fact to Gregory of Nyssa on the title of Ps 6 (in Psalm. inscript.; PG 44.548C): the eighth day is the ἀρχη του μελλοντος αἰωνος.

13.4:11-5:5 not giving a name...until that eighth day on which he is circumcised. The same arguments as in MbK, though differently expressed, are found in the GanB, ܠܕa-b (on Lk 1.59): The example of Abraham's new name is thought unlikely because of Ishmael and Sarah as counterexamples; the explanation that the name goes with the covenant is accepted, but the parallel with naming at baptism is thought to be the best explanation. There is a second discussion in the GanB on Lk 2.21 (ܟܕa), putting the point slightly differently:

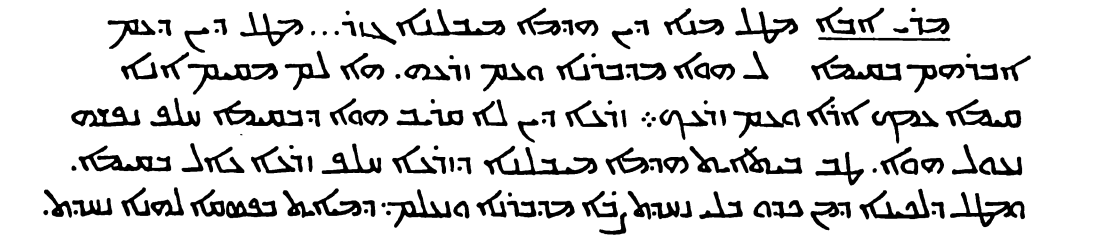
> And why is the naming with the circumcision and not before it? And this is fittingly (so), for if circumcision signifies a type of nativity, it is not at all seemly that a baby should be named before he is born. Because of this, we too, children of the house of faith - with our circumcision not made with hands, in baptism, we are named with names which befit the deed.

ܗܘ ܕܫܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܫܘܚܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܫܘܚܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܫܘܚܐ

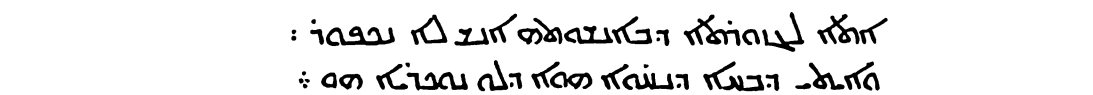
13.5:14-.6:11 why circumcision is...not on another member.

Cf. GanB on Gn 17.1ff. (בb):

> Mar Abba. Why did he circumcise the generative member? ... Because he went with Abraham as leader into a covenant, and with his seed. "Behold", he says, "I establish a covenant with thee, and with thy seed." Now the seed were not present to enter the covenant on their own behalf; the member (which was) the generator of the seed very properly enters the covenant on their behalf. And because the leader wishes to renew and rejuvenate the nature just then worn out, he will likewise renew with a cut this (member).



13.7:22-.8:13 Why Christ was circumcised. MbK's reasoning, commonplace enough, lacks close parallels in other authors. JS chaims (v.448:21f.) that it was so that no one could deny his manhood:



13.8:14ff. The Phantasiasts etc. The clearest evidence that Christ's circumcision really was denied on these grounds by the Phantasiasts, comes from Philoxenus in an extract preserved in three anti-Julianist catenae in MSS Add. 12155, 14538, and 14533, and summarized by DE HALLEUX, 143f. Their claim, somewhat obscured by MbK, apparently was that the cut-off foreskin - since it cannot now be produced - must have perished and therefore contradicted Ps 16.10 and Ac 2.31. Philoxenus, like MbK, accepts that these texts do mean

that the foreskin was preserved, but considers it irreverent to pursue the fate of the piece of skin. He speaks of its reunion with Christ's glorious body after the Resurrection. Severus, Ep. 97 (PO 14.194-9) also discusses the question: he is similarly sure the piece of skin did not perish and allows that "perhaps some God-befitting miracle was performed with regard to the portion that was cut off, which Scripture left unknown to us". Cf. a similar but not identical discussion by him on Lk 1.21 (ed. MAI, 414f.), attributing the question about the foreskin to οἱ την δοκησιν εἰσαγαγοντες μανιχαιοι and "those who give precedence to φαντασια".

13.9:24-.10:7 "Is righteousness practised apart from circumcision?" The arguments from OT history are very common: see HAYMAN, tnsl. p. 9 and the sources in n.1. To these add Aphrahat, Dem. xi.7 (PS 1.485-8), which is closest to MbK.

13.11:15 For the additional section in MS H, see Appendix, p. 372.

Appendix

The text and translation of homily no. 14 are given on the following pages, along with a commentary to place it (and MbK's own statements) in the proper setting in the history of midrash on the story of Simeon.

Several considerations tend to the conclusion that this homily did not belong to the original collection and is not by MbK.

1. It stands in MSS LHMZ only, and HMZ derive from L at this point.

2. It does not begin with an ascription to MbK. This is true, in fact, for four of the six homilies in LHM alone (nos. 14, 15, 16, 35; with ascription, nos. 33, 34).

3. The format of this homily is in some contrast to all the other formats exemplified. First, it is called an ܡܐܡܪܐ (sg.) which does not appear in other titles in the collection. Second, it aims to answer questions, but it does so by listing all the questions first and then putting all the answers together. We would expect from MbK a rigid scheme of ܬܠܬܗ or ܡܩܠܐ.

4. The author of this homily is convinced that Simeon was 500 years old at Christ's birth. This opinion seems to have been widely accepted at a later time than MbK's, but in MbK's own commentary ad loc., it is listed only among other possibilities. (See on this below).

Since the other MSS of this homily derive from L, the text which follows is strictly that of L (with its spelling and punctuation retained).

14.1 = 366

1 ملحقة من مدير حديقة الحيوان بطلب مقابلتها فوراً. 1486

ذهبت إلى مكتب المدير في الموعد المحدد. كان رجلاً ضخماً ذا شارب كث ونظارة سميكة. رحب بي ترحيباً حاراً وقال: «أنا سعيد جداً بقدومك، فقد سمعت عن نجاحك في تدريب الدببة القطبية في حديقة الجليد الشمالي». لم أكن أعرف أن أخباري قد وصلت إلى هذا الحد.

15 شرح لي المدير أن الحديقة تستعد لاستقبال زوجين من الدببة القطبية من النرويج، وأنه يريد أن يكون أول من يراهما. طلب مني أن أقضي أسبوعاً كاملاً في الحديقة لأتعرف على الدببة الجديدة وأضع خطة لتدريبها. وافقت على الفور، فهذه فرصة لا تعوض.

20 في اليوم الأول التقيت بالدببة القطبية الجديدة. كانت أنثى اسمها «نانوك» وذكر اسمه «أوري». كانا في قفص كبير مزود بحوض ماء واسع وأرض ثلجية صناعية. كانا متعبين من السفر الطويل، فقررت أن أتركهما يرتاحان يومين قبل أن أبدأ أي تدريب. لاحظت أن نانوك كانت تراقبني باستمرار، وكأنها تريد أن تتأكد أنني لا أشكل خطراً على صغيرها.

A requisite explanation, next, concerning the old man Simeon who received Christ in his arms in the temple.[1] It is required, now, that we should know from what nation he was; from what tribe; whether he was a priest or the high priest; when he lived;[2] how long he lived; how his death took place and when; whether he brought Our Saviour to the sanctuary or to the Holy of Holies; and what the cause of his obligation was. With these, again, we ask why Our Saviour went up to the temple, why at forty days, what the reason is for those offerings which were offered - I mean the pair of turtledoves or two young doves -, and whether Christ offered both of them or (only) one.

Simeon, then, was a Hebrew by his race, from the tribe of the Levites. He was indeed a priest, and not the high priest. Zechariah was the high priest, and (in any case) because he lived five hundred years, the high priesthood would not have been left (to him) so (long), because many snatched at it among the honours (given) by the rulers, the Romans. And concerning this, the Gospel too says "chief priests and elders of the temple"[3], showing that there were many and not one.

Indeed some say he was among those who came up with Ezra the scribe in the captivity. And when he was reading in Isaiah the prophet, and had heard the passage which says, "Lo, a virgin conceives and bears a son, and his name is called Emmanuel",[4] he doubted in his mind on account of the greatness of the matter, saying, "This is one of the impossible things". And because of this it was said to him by the Holy Spirit that he would not taste death until he should see the Christ of God.[5] Indeed the years of his life were five hundred years, according to the weeks of

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1. Lk 2.22-35.
2. Lit. at what time he was.
3. Cf. Lk 22.52.
4. Is 7.14.
5. Lk 2.26.

ואמר. כאשר התחיל לו כאמור הוא בעצמו הנה: אמרו הנה ראינו
אותו. ואמרו אותו ראינו לו הוא כאשר שמענו אותו ואמרו
ואמרו: ואמרו אותו ראינו לו הוא כאשר שמענו אותו ואמרו
ראינו אותו ואמרו לו הוא כאשר שמענו אותו ואמרו ראינו
אותו ואמרו לו הוא כאשר שמענו אותו ואמרו ראינו אותו
ואמרו לו הוא כאשר שמענו אותו ואמרו ראינו אותו ואמרו
לו הוא כאשר שמענו אותו ואמרו ראינו אותו ואמרו לו הוא
כאשר שמענו אותו ואמרו ראינו אותו ואמרו לו הוא כאשר
שמענו אותו ואמרו ראינו אותו ואמרו לו הוא כאשר שמענו
אותו ואמרו ראינו אותו ואמרו לו הוא כאשר שמענו אותו
ואמרו ראינו אותו ואמר

Daniel.[1] And when Our Saviour was born in Bethlehem and was forty days (old), he came to offer an offering as the Law commanded. And it was made known to him in the Holy Spirit that it was the Christ of God, and he came to the temple with great joy, and carried Our Saviour in his arms, and brought him into the sanctuary. He brought Christ into the sanctuary and not into the Holy of Holies, for not everyone enters thither, nor at any time, but (only) the high priest alone, and (that) only once, on the Day of Atonement.[2] It is indeed said that on that day he departed (this) life, when he said, "Now dismiss thy servant in peace",[3] i.e., without pain and without sickness, and without the hardship of the ending of life.

Now, again, it is required of us to say why the Law commanded that at forty days a male offered an offering, while a female (offered it)at eighty days.[4] And we say, when God wishes to create a baby in the womb, first before all the members the heart is formed, and with the beginning of its coming into being, a rational soul is breathed into it. And from this, the members begin and sprout. And (if it is a male,) at the conclusion of forty days, he is complete in his features. And because of this, he offered an offering. A female (did this) at eighty days, because at eighty days her members are complete. And the reason for this (is) because she is conceived on the left side, and is far from the bile, which heats up the formation and which hastens it to completion. A male is conceived on the right side, and since he is near the bile, he is first completed.

What he said about Christ, that he "is set for the setting up and for the fall of many and for a sign of contention",[5] means this: the "fall"

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1. Dn 9.24. 2. Lv 16.17, Heb 9.7. 3. Lk 2.29.
4. Lv 12.1-6. 5. Lk 2.34.

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(is) theirs who do not know that he is God, and those who believe on him he raises and establishes from the fall of sin. The "sign of contention" is the cross, of which some said that a man was crucified on it and others, God incarnate. And each of them contended against each in some way.

Those who came on an ascent such as this to the temple, were commanded to offer a pair of turtledoves.[1] Concerning this species they say that it guards (its) chastity exceedingly, and when one of them dies, its companion does not attach itself to another. These typify, indeed, the soul and the body: when they separate from one another, the soul does not unite itself to another body, nor does the body unite itself to another soul. The young doves (were offered) because of their innocence; because in the days of Noah good (news) was announced to men by means of a dove;[2] and again because the Holy Spirit too appeared in this form at the Jordan River when it alighted on Our Saviour.[3]

Completed, on the old man Simeon.

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1. Lv 12.8, Lk 2.24. 2. Gn 8.11. 3. Mt 3.16 & par.

COMMENTARY ON No. 14

14.1:13 <u>because he lived five hundred years</u>. This statement goes along with the opinion in 14.1:18ff. that Simeon returned from Babylon with Ezra. As it happens, we are in a position to compare this homily with MbK's commentary on Lk, of which an extract is preserved in MS H (fol. 58a-b) as chapter 15 of no. 13. It begins ...ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܫܢ ܡܐܐ ܘܚܡܫܝܢ ܫܢ. This reference is most naturally to a commentary by MbK, and this is all the more likely since the scribe of H or its exemplar mentions the commentary on Lk again at 13.7 n.10 and must have had access to it. The importance of this discovery is lessened by the fact that DbṢ (283f.[230f.]) has once again preserved his commentary on this passage almost entire, but it shows at least that MbK too entertained a variety of opinions about Simeon.

In Syriac sources three different legends about Simeon's identity and dating can be traced. These appear separately in earlier sources, then - with variations - in lists of alternatives in MbK's time, and finally completely fused in later sources.

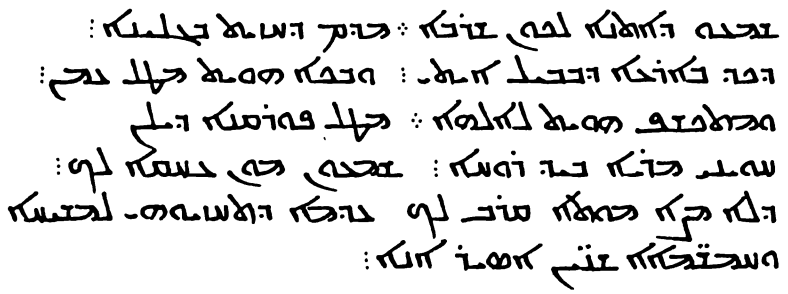
Very probably, all three identifications of Simeon arose from the name <u>Asira</u> (or title, "the bound one", or "the captive one") which Simeon commonly bears in Syriac sources. The title should be regarded as a premiss for, and not a deduction from, any of the three explanations. It seems to be taken for granted by George bp. of the Arabs, a discerning critic who rejects the first two explanations and knows nothing of the third (see below). Certainly also the

explanations are too unlikely in themselves, to have arisen without some kind of foundation in a similarity of names. Unfortunately the origin of this title Asira is presently obscure: perhaps it may turn out to lie in an early interpretative translation of Lk 1.36.

1. Simeon was a man of the time of the Captivity. Aside from the meaning "captive" for Asira, it is hard to say what if any foothold this idea has in the OT. It does, however, appear fairly early, as in the Cave of Treasures (23 [217]):

> And the old man Simeon, son of the Joshua b. Jehozadak in whose day the captivity went up from Babylon, carried him (sc. Christ). And he was five hundred years old when he carried Christ.

A variation of the opinion makes him actually live through the captivity. (As this appears in MbK, his age is naturally seventy years longer, i.e. 570!) In the memra of Ps-Ephrem on Mary and Joseph (see on 2.3:25ff.) the same tradition appears. I quote the text of MS Harvard Syr. 59, fols. 103b-104a, which differs slightly from BECK's (35:749-59). Simeon addresses the people,



> "Attend as I tell you the story of what I saw in a revelation.
> While in the land of Babylon, and I was weeping for our people
> And supplicating God for our deliverance,
> The Lord showed me, by the Spirit: 'Simeon, What grieves thee?
> Death shall not come nigh thee until thou seest Christ.'
> And I have been bound (ܐܣܝܪ) five hundred years."

2. Simeon was the father of Jesus ben Sira. This opinion is more widely attested in Syriac sources. It rests most heavily on the inference that Ben Sira's father was named Sim(e)on. This was early made from Eusebius's Chronicle:

> Als Hoherpriester der Juden war Simon, Sohn des Onia gekannt, unter welchem Jesu, des Sirach (Sohn), war.

(So Arm.: GCS, p. 201. Jerome's Latin is identical.) This statement implies neither that Ben Sira was a priest nor that he was the son of Simeon the High Priest. At about two removes from Eusebius, however, the same information in the Syriac chronicle of Ps-Dionysius of Tellmaḥre has become (48 [39]):

> And Ptolemy Euergetes reigned over Egypt. . . At this time were known the priests Jesus bar Asira and Sim(e)on bar Ḥonia.

The same stage of development is represented by the chronicle of Syncellus (ed., DINDORF, i.525), also probably only two removes from Eusebius. That is, from Ben Sira's place after Simon the High Priest in Eusebius's chronicle it was inferred that he was the next High Priest in the succession. It only remained to infer that he was Simon's son. This step had been taken by the time of the Syriac Maronite Chronicle (47f.[40]), which in fact goes on to identify this

17 Simon with the one of Lk 2:

> And in the 15th year of Ptolemy . . . arose Simon bar Ḥonia, the High Priest of the Jews, who was the father of Jesus bar Sira. And at that time he wrote the book named Wisdom, called that of Bar Asira.

This same opinion is stated by IM (ad loc., ܢ[155]):

> It is written in the book of the genealogies(ܟܬܒ ܕܚܘܠܦܢ) that this Simeon who carried Our Lord was the son of Ḥonia bar

> Ḥonia the High Priest, and father of Jesus bar Sira; for he was bound (ܐܬܪ ܫܡ) in spirit until that time, which was two hundred and sixteen years.

Now Ben Sira is himself known in the Pe as Bar Asira, and when this fact was put alongside the "evidence" from Eusebius and Simeon's name Asira, the conclusion that the two men were the same must have been irresistible.

A witness to the currency of this theory of Simeon's identity is George bp. of the Arabs. He explains (LAGARDE, 128[RYSSEL, 59]) to his correspondent that the likeness of the names is merely a coincidence between a Hebrew and a Syriac word.

> But neither one is the same as the other. For Simeon Sirach (ܣܝܪܐ) was more than 244 years before Christ's coming in the flesh. For he was known in the year 65 of the Greeks, in the days of Ptolemy Euergetes, king of Egypt.

(George also takes note of opinion no. 1 but rejects both on account of the fantastic lifespans they imply.)

3. Simeon was "bound" as a result of being scandalized by Is 7.14 ("A virgin shall conceive"). MbK's commentary is itself the earliest source known to me for this opinion, of which he gives two varying forms (= DbṢ 284[230]):

> This Simeon was the high priest. And one day, reading in the book of Isaiah, he reached the passage which says, "Behold, a virgin conceives and bears a son". He doubted and said, "This cannot be". And at once the Spirit bound him (ܣܝܡܪ) that he should not die until he should see this in fact.
>
> Others (say): He was one of those seventy-two exegetes who translated the Old (Testament) from the Hebrew language into the Greek for Ptolemy. And translating the book of Isaiah, he reached the passage (etc.).

(Two Simeons appear in the list in Ps-Aristeas and three in Epiph., de Mens. et Pond. 9).

In later sources, these motifs appear together. In the Nestorian scholia edited by HOFFMANN (pp. 139f.) Simeon appears as

> the father of Jesus bar Sira (ܒܪ ܣܝܪܐ) the wise. He was one of the seventy-two famous elders (ܣܒܐ), and he is Simeon bar Nathaniah (Ben Sira 50.1 Pe) bar Onia, and he is Simeon the brother of Eleazar the priest, and he is the one who carried Our Lord in his arms. And his life was prolonged two hundred and sixteen years.

Bar Hebraeus (Chron. Eccl.i.21) subscribes to opinion no. 2 but adds the story of Isaiah 7. The Chronicon ad annum 1234 (117 [92]) preserves opinion no. 1, adding the story that on the day of Christ's presentation the bed-ridden old man was miraculously enabled to get up and go to the temple. The Armenian version (only) of Michael's chronicle contains a further elaboration of the story of Simeon the LXX translator (HAASE, 66f.).

The premiss of all these opinions, that Simeon was a man of miraculously old age, must have been very widely believed. Even Jacob of Serug, who makes only the safest inferences from the data of Scripture, says, "Death removes ranks of generations before him but does not come near him". (v.450:6). However, there was always a non-legendary exegesis of Lk 2.25ff. by which Simeon was merely a righteous old man who was kept alive to witness to Christ's identity or allowed to see Christ as a reward for his faith. George (loc. cit.) is at pains to show that nothing of JS's memra, which he knows, actually implies a miraculously old age: Simeon might have been only 80, 90 or 100 for both JS and Lk to make sense. MbK also preserves the non-legendary exegesis in his commentary.

The importance of this comparative material for the present note

is in showing that the opinion in the homily, while traditional, is a combination of two distinct ones (legends nos. 1 and 3) entertained by MbK himself. Since it is not to be expected that MbK would have restricted himself to only one opinion here, it is safe to consider no. 14 an inauthentic addition to MbK's Book of Homilies.

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